26905

National Library of Canada | Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE | THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* KOTHROCK, WILLY

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* THE DEVELOPMENT OF DUTCH-INDONESIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLING: A STUDY IN COLONIAL EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/*GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* M. Ed.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1975

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* DR. P.J. MILLER

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/*DATÉ* 20 June 1975 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ* Willy Kothrock

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ* 1203 - 11111 - 87 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 0X9

NL-91 (3-74)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DUTCH-INDONESIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLING: A STUDY IN COLONIAL EDUCATION

by

©

WILLY ROTHROCK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1975

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Development of Dutch-Indonesian Primary Schooling: A Study in Colonial Education", submitted by Willy Rothrock in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in History of Education.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date .....

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to examine the development of colonial education in Indonesia in its socio-political context. It is restricted to elementary schooling of Europeans and Indonesians.

After a brief introduction, Chapter II surveys the many diversities found in Indonesia, its conversion to Islam and the establishment of the Dutch colony. Chapter III considers the establishment of a dual educational system, European and Indonesian, in the context of a prosperous colonial economy and of total Dutch political control. Chapter IV is concerned with the rise of nationalism and the power that different groups exercised, resulting in expanded educational opportunities, the establishment of private schools and attention to female education.

Chapter V, which includes an oral history project, summarizes and evaluates criticisms of the educational system, voiced by colonial administrators, nationalists and ex-colonials. Finally, Chapter VI offers some conclusions: that severe problems arose because of unrecognized forces triggered by education; that the policies of the educational system were set not only by Dutch interests but also by those of the Indonesian elite; and that despite fierce attacks on Dutch colonial practices, the officials did what was feasible for education within the framework of those policies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

For guidance and many useful suggestions in the writing of this thesis I am indebted to my committee, Dr. P. J. Miller, Dr. M. K. Bacchus and Professor J. Barrington.

I am grateful to the librarians of the University of Alberta, the University of Amsterdam, the Royal Library in The Hague, the State Archives in The Hague and the Central Bureau of Statistics in Voorburg, who faithfully helped me find the necessary material. Particular thanks are due to the librarian of the University of Amsterdam, Mr. R. B. Knottnerus, who, together with the librarian of the State Archives, Mr. M. G. H. A. de Graaff, searched for months for the "Jasper Report".

I especially wish to thank those who granted me interviews, and Mr. D. C. Norwood, who drew the maps. But most of all, I should like to thank my husband, who edited and proofread this thesis and helped to render my Dutch syntax into proper English.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	THE ROOTS OF MODERN INDONESIA	8
	Geography, Peoples and Languages	8
	The Economic Context	11
	Religious Patterns	14
	The First European Conquest	19
	The Coming of the Dutch	21
	Conclusion	26
III.	THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COLONIAL PATTERN	32
	The Dawn of a New Era of Colonialism	32
	A Time of Conflict and Consolidation	35
	Education Before 1900	39
	The Growth of Public Education in Dutch Indonesia	43
	Conclusion	49
IV.	ACHIEVEMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	54
	The Rise of Nationalism	54
	The Colonial School System, 1900-1942	62
	Private Initiatives	72
	Female Education	74
	Conclusion	79

CHAPTER		PAGE
V.	THE HUMAN FACTOR	85
	Problems and Tensions Within the System	85
	Criticism: Historical and Contemporary	91
	The School Personnel: Students and Teachers . . .	106
	Conclusion	118
VI.	CONCLUSION	125
BIBLIOGRAPHY		130

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the establishment of a system of primary education in Indonesia under Dutch colonial rule and to evaluate the functioning and the goals of this system.

Colonialism is a contentious subject in a time when political independence and the promotion of nationalism are conscious goals and motivations of Europe's former colonies. Yet political catch-phrases, romantic sympathies and assumed inequities cannot substitute for detailed examinations of how colonial systems worked. Dutch colonial practices, with special references to education, certainly fall into this category of subjects worth consideration beyond the level of applying superficial generalizations. In this study an attempt has been made to examine this controversial subject in the framework of the colonial structure, and to review the elementary school system of Dutch Indonesia in the context of its time.

Few books consider this period with any detailed objectivity: most modern authors point briefly to the many shortcomings of the Dutch administration and then move quickly to considerations of what the Republic of Indonesia has achieved since independence; and earlier literature is both scanty and somewhat apologetic.

The scarcity of material for such a study and the biassed anti-colonial viewpoint of most modern works resulted in the conviction that the printed literature on the subject had to be supplemented by interviews

with people who lived in the first half of this century in Indonesia and went through the colonial school system. However, even this oral history research project encountered difficulties. The greatest problem was to arrange interviews with Indonesians, to counterbalance the Dutch view, which was readily available. Unfortunately, these interviews did not materialize: some refused to grant them, pointing out that the colonial era was a dark page in Indonesia's history that was best forgotten as soon as possible; and illness overcame the one Indonesian source who consented to an interview before it could be arranged. Thus, interviews with Europeans could be counterbalanced only by material collected from modern, nationalist authors. Despite these limitations, an attempt has been made to be as objective as possible, and to compare and contrast both views with reference to ethnic background and the opposing loyalties involved.

The broad field of education in Dutch Indonesia had to be restricted to manageable proportions to permit a reasonable scope of the study. For instance, colonial education was not only concerned with schooling for Europeans and Indonesians; it also involved education of Arabs and Chinese. As the Arabic population in Indonesia was small, however, and very few Dutch-Arabian schools existed, this aspect of the educational system has been omitted. Comparably, though the role of the Chinese in Indonesia was very important, it was quite distinct from the rest of the population, so consideration of Dutch-Chinese schools also has been omitted. Another conscious limitation has been a concentration upon the elementary educational system. It has not been possible to

ignore altogether the intermediate and higher schools to which primary education led, but the major interest of this thesis is the primary system.

As mentioned above, sources for a study of colonial education in Indonesia are scarce. A classic in this field is Dr. I. J. Brugmans' Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië (1938), which gives a chronological account of educational development in Indonesia. Somewhat apologetic in its approach to the problems that arose, this book is nonetheless an invaluable source of data. Helpful, though of limited scope, is the short work of P. Post, Het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië (1932); this is mainly concerned with education in Indonesian language schools, and makes a plea for the propagation of Christianity. Another study that is useful despite a rather narrow focus is C. Veeneklaas, Het Rassenconflict in de Opvoeding in Indonesië (1949), which points out how education was hampered by mutual discrimination between the Dutch and the Indonesians.

Early English sources are even more scanty than the Dutch. Raden Loekman Djajadiningrat's study, From Illiteracy to University, Educational Development in the Netherlands Indies (1942), presents a chronological summation of events in colonial education, and illustrates the text with a chart of the school system. The works of J. S. Furnivall should be mentioned; they offer the student an excellent, although plodding, account of developments in colonial southeast Asia. In Educational Process in South East Asia (1943), he comes to the conclusion that as long as schools are the instruments of the western economy they will not succeed. Success

will only be achieved when local nationalism is allowed to mix with European education. Netherlands India. A Study of Plural Economy (1944) and Colonial Policy and Practice. A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India (1948) offer sections on education which are of great value, as Furnivall presents the reader with solid documentation, including many tables of statistics. In the same vein, the monumental work of A. D. A. de Kat Angelino should be mentioned, Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië (3 vols., 1929). This massive study summarizes the political and economic history of the Dutch in the East Indies from 1600 until the first decades of the 20th century. It is very helpful, though the part on education is an obvious defense of the colonial administration by an ex-colonial politician. An abridged English translation exists, Colonial Policy (2 vols., 1931).

With so few secondary works available, a study such as this quickly comes to rely upon the "raw material" of primary sources, the many official documents which are available in the State Archives in The Hague, Holland. A collection of these has been compiled and published by Dr. S. L. van der Wal, Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië, 1900-1940. Een Bronnenpublikatie (1963). This work comprises over a hundred letters from high colonial officials, which offer a valuable insight into the difficulties and problems these men faced. An analysis of some of these documents is available in English in Paul W. van der Veur, Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia, Vol. I (1969). In a study mostly concerned with the backgrounds of Indonesians educated in the Dutch school system, Van der Veur quotes and summarizes

Van der Wal's letters frequently. His quotations in text and footnotes constitute one of the few collections of sources in the English language.

During the last decade and a half, several dissertations about colonial education in Indonesia have been written on the North American continent. Lloyd W. Mauldin, "The Colonial Influence of Indonesian Education" (George Peabody College for Teachers, 1961), attempts to give an in-depth study of the colonial policies pertaining to all branches of education since their establishment. The result is a shallow Ph.D. thesis, so full of errors of translation and in proper names as to raise grave doubts about the author's competence in the Dutch language. In addition, Mauldin presents the problems in Holland's former colony with such an obvious bias that the scholarly value of his work also is dubious. Sorimuda Nasution, "The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia, 1892-1920" (University of Wisconsin, 1967), focusses on the teaching materials offered in the schools in Indonesia. This doctoral dissertation is valuable for background information, and is properly documented. Liem Tjong Tiat, "Ethnicity and Modernization in Indonesian Education: A Comparative Study of pre-Independence and post-Independence Periods" (University of Wisconsin, 1968), assumes that ethnicity was the main reason for the segregated colonial school system. His arguments are well illustrated with Chinese examples, and although not always persuasive, the sections on pre-independence education are well researched and objective.

Specialized, but important for the overall understanding of colonial education, are the letters of Raden Adjeng Kartini, edited by

J. H. Abendanon under the title Door Duisternis tot Licht. Gedachten over en voor het Javaanse Volk (1911). The correspondence gives the reader a picture of Javanese society around the turn of the century, an insight into the educational problems of the Indonesian aristocracy and a portrayal of the total lack of education for women. An abridged edition of the letters is available in English, Letters of a Javanese Princess (1964). J. H. Abendanon, a champion of the establishment of female instruction and a friend of Kartini, also propagates the urgent need for the establishment of such education in the Indonesian archipelago in his book Beschouwingen over het Onderwijs en de Toekomst der Inlandsche Meisjes in Nederlandsch-Indië in Verband met het Kartini-Fonds, (N. D.).

Finally, a reference should be made to the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië (8 vols., 1917), which gives, besides many bibliographical sketches, an excellent array of information about social, financial, political, historical, economic and educational topics.

The present study proceeds along the following lines. Chapter II offers a background sketch of Indonesia, a geographical description followed by a consideration of the diversity of culture, language and social rank, the conversion to Islam, and the coming of the Dutch. Chapter III deals with the period of economic prosperity and of the Dutch political control, and the subsequent establishment of the first European school system. Chapter IV considers the power of nationalism and the expansion of educational opportunities which the nationalists forced upon the Dutch, as well as the founding of female education.

Chapter V outlines and attempts to evaluate several varieties of criticism of the colonial administration pertaining to the school system, incorporating remarks and comments of nationalists and ex-colonials. Chapter VI offers a conclusion.

CHAPTER II

THE ROOTS OF MODERN INDONESIA

For a study of colonial education in Indonesia to be meaningful, it is necessary that some perspective be developed. Most significant among those are the diversity of the geography, peoples and languages, the evolving economic situation, the conversion to Islam, the first contacts with Europeans and the arrival and settlement of the Dutch. Only against this background can 19th and 20th century colonial events be viewed in any depth and considered as bases of the problems that arose subsequently.

Geography, Peoples and Languages

Indonesia comprises about 3,000 islands, of which Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes (listed in some modern atlasses by their official Indonesian names Djawa, Sumatera, Kalimanten and Sulawesi), are the biggest. More eastward lie the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Moluccas.[1] And for the last 300 years the Djakarta government also has ruled Western New Guinea, except from 1962 to 1963 when Holland handed the area to the United Nations; since 1963 it has been part of the Republic of Indonesia.[2] This association of Western New Guinea, which is now called Irian Barat, with the Indonesian archipelago, resulted from the patterns of European colonial conquest, for, in fact, New Guinea is linked geographically to Australia, and ethnically and linguistically to Melanesia.[3]

The Indonesian archipelago lies between Asia and Australia and

once formed a land bridge between these continents. The islands are situated around the equator, roughly between 10° N. and 10° S. latitude, with an east-west axis of about 6,000 kilometres.[4] The land relief varies greatly, providing sharply contrasting conditions. There are steaming flats at sea-level, cultivated rice fields and inpenetrable jungle on steep slopes, and soaring volcanoes with sub-alpine and alpine flora--culminating in snow-capped mountains on New Guinea. The entire region has a tropical climate, with an average temperature of 27° C. over the whole year and high humidity. The islands get an average rainfall of 200 centimetres, though extremes have been recorded on mountain slopes on Java and Sumatra (800 centimetres) and in the rain shadow of Celebes (50 centimetres).[5] There is no noticeable difference in season; trade winds occur, sweeping rhythmically back and forth over the islands from the Asian mainland and Australia, known as monsoons, bringing rain and dry periods to different parts of the archipelago.

Typhoons and tornados are unknown, as they whip by the islands and on past the Philippines on their way to Japan, but volcanic eruptions and earthquakes are quite common, as Indonesia is situated on a fault line. The most famous eruption occurred in 1883, when the island of Krakatau, between Java and Sumatra, exploded with devastating results for thousands of inhabitants on the coastal flats of these islands.[6] The fertile lava of these volcanic eruptions, however, forms the main base of Indonesia's agriculture, of which rice is the main staple.

The peoples of Indonesia show as many variations and startling contrasts as the islands they inhabit. Malay people essentially Javanese

in culture, inhabit Java and southern Sumatra, and constitute the bulk of the population, though even these show some marked internal contrasts. Also significant are the Dyaks,[7] who number over a million. Residing on Borneo and generally living communally in long houses, the sea Dyaks support themselves by fishing while those farther inland practice a rudimentary slash and burn agriculture. Other communities of different identities have continued to exist in the archipelago: Bali, which lies to the east of Java; Atjeh, in northern Sumatra; and the Toradja peoples on Celebes. Also notably different is the Melanesian culture of New Guinea, which is entirely unrelated to the rest. In historical times, this mixture has been complicated further by the settlement of Arabs, Europeans and Chinese.

Naturally, such a variety of peoples resulted in a wide range of linguistic and cultural patterns--with strong implications for any endeavours to create a modern educational system. Marked differences characterize the several languages and dialects spoken in the archipelago. For example, an inhabitant of western Java and one from the eastern part of the island cannot understand one another if each speaks his own language. Even amongst the majority of the Javanese languages spoken in central and eastern Java (western Java has a tongue of its own, called Sundanese), there are vast differences; the commoners speak the so called "low" Javanese language, while in noble circles the "high" Javanese language is used, the languages here emphasizing distinctions in social rank. As such differences are common over the whole country, very serious communication problems have arisen.

Most of the languages of Indonesia are derived from the Malayo-Polynesian language group.[8] Although the several tongues spoken in Indonesia are basically related, due to geographical features of the country--mountain ranges, scores of scattered islands and waterways--they have developed into separate dialects. When the Dutch arrived, a kind of pidgin Malay became the official trading tongue, known as market Malay. As this was frequently the only language the Dutch officials could speak, it was used later as the colonial lingua franca, causing many hard feelings amongst the centuries-old aristocracy, who also were addressed in this language instead of in the flowing court tongue, which was their traditional prerogative.

To bridge the communication gap, the Indonesian nationalists started as early as the 1920's to create a universal language for their country. Deciding that the Malayan language is spoken most purely on the Riouw Islands and the southern tip of the Malay peninsula (rather as Dutch is thought to be purest in the Haarlem region, French in Tourraine or Italian in Tuscany), they made this dialect the basis of a new language called Bahasa Indonesia, or Indonesian.[9] This is now the official language of the Republic of Indonesia, which the government hopes to make universal so all Indonesian people will be able to communicate with one another.

The Economic Context

The greatest part of the Indonesian population, now about 123,000,000, traditionally has belonged to a peasant society depending

for sustenance on the fertility of its land. In some parts of the archipelago fishing constitutes an important alternative, however; and even in agriculture great differences can be noticed between lush, wet Java and the dry eastern islands, where there exists a chronic water shortage. Because of this, Java is the "rice bowl" of Indonesia, while the lands in the east are used for cattle pasture.

But Indonesia's most famous products are spices, which originally grew wild. Hindu-Indian merchants were trading in spices as early as the beginning of the Christian era, and later Arab traders, living on the Malabar coast of southwestern India, established a market with the "Spice Islands".[10] Cloves, mace, pepper and nutmeg were transported to the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, then brought overland to the eastern Mediterranean, where European ships, mostly from the great Italian trading centres of Venice and Genoa, carried them to the markets of late medieval Europe. With the coming of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the 16th and 17th centuries, the spice trade was controlled, and the Dutch took the monopoly of the trade. Amboina became the main gathering centre from which spices were transported first to Java and from there to Europe.[11]

As the Dutch became dominant they transformed the local economy, and many plantations were founded, especially on Java and Sumatra, where tea, sugar, coffee, rubber and tobacco were cultivated. Most of these products were exported, with great financial benefit for the Dutch planters and the Dutch economy. Thus, the Indonesian economy traditionally has rested upon a solid but primarily agricultural basis. In modern

times it has been diversified somewhat, and the extractive industry has become an important aspect of the Indonesian economy: rich oil deposits are found on Borneo and some on New Guinea; and tin mining on Banka and Biliton (islands east of Sumatra which yield 20% of the world's production),[12] make Indonesia one of southeast Asia's richest countries today. Factories for light industries, such as soap, paper and cigarettes, also are expanding locally, and some progress has been made creating badly needed hydro-electric power.

The major shaping of the country's economy took place on the main island, Java, where two-thirds of the population lives, and on the neighbouring island of Sumatra. Early in Indonesia's history, powerful Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms, such as Shrivijaya on Sumatra, Mataram and Majapahit on Java were founded. Later it was via these islands, that Islam spread into the archipelago.[13] The Sumatran kingdom was defeated by its neighbours in the beginning of the 11th century, and from then on its power waned, and Java became increasingly more dominant over the rest of the islands.

The markets offered by its relatively dense population, as well as its central location, long had made Java the pivot of inter-island trade, and this importance was re-inforced by Malabar Arab merchants who arrived in the 13th century. Later, the Portuguese, who first established themselves in India, eyed Java eagerly, but the ruling Muslim princes were able to keep free from Europeans through most of the 16th century. Then, at the end of the century, the Dutch selected Java as their chief base, operating from their stuffy, unhealthy forts on the north coast,[14] and this confirmed and strengthened the island's traditional importance to

economic and cultural patterns. For the next three centuries, decisions concerning all of Indonesia were made from Java, and during the Second World War Djakarta even became the South Asian Headquarters for the Japanese Imperial Army. In this regard, not much has changed over the centuries. Djakarta, the largest city of Java, is now the capital of the Indonesian Republic and the seat of government and still continues to rule areas different from and foreign to it in tradition, culture and even language. And still, as in the past, most studies that purport to consider "Indonesia" really are discussing Java, most data presented comes from there, and generalizations offered are less and less accurate as one moves into the outer islands.[15]

Religious Patterns

The earliest population of the Indonesian islands probably was a mixture of immigrants from the lands south of China and of Papuans from the southwestern Pacific regions; little is known about the religion of these prehistoric peoples, but they appear to have practiced an animistic cult, evidence of which can still be found in the daily life of today's population. Traders from India arrived on the scene at the beginning of the Christian era in search of spices, rice and gold, and when some settled permanently, the population was introduced to their religion, Hinduism. This faith spread rapidly, its mystic element blending easily with the earlier animism. Both Buddhism and Brahmanism existed in Indonesia; the latter was especially well established on Bali and eastern Java, while in the 9th and 10th centuries Buddhism produced the famous

temples of Borobudur, Prambanan and Mendut. Indonesian Hindu culture reached its fullest and richest expression in the 13th and 14th centuries in the flourishing courts of Kediri, Singosari and especially Majapahit; but subsequently all of Indonesia except Bali was converted to Islam.

There is no certainty how Islam was introduced into Indonesia, but three possibilities usually are cited:

> . . . by Muslim traders in the course of peaceful trade; by preachers and holy men who set out from India and Arabia specifically to convert unbelievers and increase the knowledge of the faithful; and lastly by force and the waging of war against the heathen states.[16]

It is possible that all of these factors played some role, but probably commerce was most influential.

> So far as the chronological and geographical pattern of the spread of Islam is concerned . . ., it is clear that the trading element was the most important in determining events. In this sense Islam followed trade.[17]

The most significant centre for the spread of Islam into Indonesia, like earlier Hinduism, was situated around the Malacca Strait as it remained the most important stop for traders from India and China. Many Muslim merchants intermarried with women from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java, converting them to their religion, a relatively simple and peaceful process as Hindus tolerated the existence of other religions. Through the women, other family members adopted the Islamic religion, because "acceptance in the circle of Muslim strangers brought advantages, for social as well as spiritual reasons."[18] Other possible motives for conversion to Islam included the caste system, introduced by the Hindus; Islam offered escape to lower class people, because it made no distinction among men. And the simple monotheism of Islam also was more easily

comprehensible in comparison with Hinduism.[19]

At first Islam was mostly confined to the coastal areas of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Muslim communities most commonly were situated in port towns, where foreign traders made contact with the original population, and this same pattern was repeated widely as Islam spread across the archipelago, reaching the interior areas only very slowly.

Much of Java's conversion is told in legend, for very few reliable historical records have survived. It is alleged that around 1450 the city of Surabaja (then Ngampel) became the starting point of Islam on Java, during the preeminence of the Kingdom of Majapahit. During that time the appearance of Raden Rahmat seems to have been most important for the spread of the new religion and the downfall of the old kingdom; he introduced Islam in the coastal area of the north, with the result that ruling princes, converted to Islam, broke away from Majapahit, establishing their own small principalities. Other important centres of Islam, after Surabaya, developed in Demak and Japara in central Java, whence their attention focussed on western Java, which was still heathen. There success came rapidly, much to the delight and astonishment of the Muslims. A major cause of the easy success in west Java may have been that Hinduism had hardly touched this area; even in modern times it is famous for a pure orthodoxy often attributed to this simplicity of origin and to the fact that Islam was introduced by Muslims who had studied in Mecca.[20]

Uncharacteristically, on Java the Islamic religion penetrated deep

into the island and did not remain confined to the coastal areas, as elsewhere. On the densely populated island the population centred around both the main ports and the fertile, volcanic areas of the inland; along the trade routes, Islam spread rapidly from the former to the latter, especially after the Dutch came and the road system improved, so that inland areas became accessible.

Of the other islands, such as Borneo and Celebes, Islam was confined to the coastal areas, because of the impossibility of penetrating the inland jungle, and many Indonesians stayed heathens, like the Bataks on Sumatra and the Dyaks on Borneo. The "sophisticated" Muslims of the coastal areas considered and treated them as heathen savages, often organizing "holy wars" and slave raids to these areas,[21] but otherwise they remained largely untouched by the arrival of Islam.

After the downfall of the Kingdom of Majapahit in 1527, the small Muslim principalities on Java's north coast, Demak, Kediri and Padjang--battled for hegemony. Initially Demak was the most important, but it had to make place for Sutowidjojo, army commander of Padjang. He renamed his territory Mataram, after the old kingdom and not only acquired independent status but also gained power over important eastern and central Javanese states. At his death in 1601 the Kingdom of Mataram was indisputably the most powerful state on Java.[22] Thus, by the end of the 16th century Islam had almost made a clean sweep across Indonesia. Exceptions were the small primitive inland jungles of the outer islands, where animism survived, and the extreme east corner of Java and Bali, where Hindus, who refused to accept Islam, bunched together in secluded areas. (Today Bali remains

the only major Hindu center in Indonesia, an object of study for archeologists, historians and anthropologists.) Thus, Islam established itself in Indonesia just as the archipelago was subjugated to European colonial domination, and it had to adjust to being the faith of a subjugated rather than a subjugating people. In these conditions, Islam became a stronghold of local identities against western influence, and despite attempts to Christianize the population, the Indonesians remained loyal to their faith. It was only on Amboina, a tiny island in the Molucca chain, that Christianity made noticeable progress; elsewhere the Dutch had to deal for over three hundred years with a population that maintained stubbornly its own religion and culture.

These developments lead to some important considerations. First, it should be obvious that one of the major problems of Indonesian studies is the enormous range of variation of both the human and the physical components of the region. Next, it must be recognized that Indonesian society, at least in its more sophisticated parts, was very complex--with sharp social distinctions and linguistic patterns. Moreover, this deep-rooted, ancient culture was bound together, strengthened and probably given more flexibility and tenacity by Islam--which more or less completed its conversion of Indonesia just on the eve of European colonial conquest. And finally, it must be remembered that well before the arrival of the Europeans in force, Indonesia had extensive international contacts, was linked through trade connections to an economic pattern that stretched from China to Europe.

The First European Conquest

The establishment of European power in southeast Asia was a fact of inestimable significance for the development of modern Indonesia. In late medieval Europe, Java and its neighbours, generally called "the Spice Islands", were semi-fabulous--for some wholly unreal and for others an exotic area about which anything could be believed. Nonetheless, the spices were real, and they earned fantastic profits once distributed in Europe. However, most Europeans saw only the extreme western end of a very complex trade pattern that involved Malay, Indian, Arab and European traders, who shuttled the spices via perilous sea and land routes from the Far East to the European trade centres. Each carrier bought the cargo from the previous one at an extreme mark-up and shipped it to its next destination, where it was sold for the following leg of the journey. This complex distribution system was the reason that the spices, when they finally reached the markets in Europe, sold for astronomical prices. Of this medieval commerce it has been remarked: "The costs of the trade were enormous; but so were the profits. It was said that a merchant could ship six cargoes and lose five, but still make a profit when the sixth was sold."[23]

This situation encouraged European merchants and princes to seek to discover direct routes to the sources of the spices. In the 15th century the consolidation of the Ottoman Turks in the eastern Mediterranean --which brought under a single administration and taxing authority a segment of all the overland routes between China, India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea on the one hand and Europe on the other--inflated the

prices of these precious goods yet more and further stimulated European initiatives.

After a quarter century of explorations down the west coast of Africa, Bartholomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, and in 1498 Vasco de Gama reached India. There they encountered for the first time the ferocity of the spice trade. In south Asia the Portuguese found no open market, no peaceable community of independent producers bargaining freely with commercial carriers. Rather, the producing states were autocracies which exploited common labour for the enrichment of reigning princes who fought with one another bitterly--destroying plantations and burning villages to reduce competition. But the Arabs, who were the carriers of the seaborne trade westward, were the lords and masters of all, dominating the producers and all other Asians involved. This well-established pattern of economic imperialism made the task of the Portuguese much easier; they did not have to create a new system but only to displace the Arabs from their dominant position in an existing one. Thus, they established the first of the European colonial empires, which were to endure in southeast Asia until the mid-twentieth century witnessed the general success of Asia's fight for independence of European domination.

After overcoming Arab sea power on the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese made their Asian base in India, developing ports at Goa, Diu and Cochin. However, India proved to be still far from the source of most trade goods, for Java was the centre for Indonesian spices and Malacca for Chinese goods; in 1511 Malacca was conquered and remained for more than a century Portugal's main base in southeast Asia, till the Dutch arrived and

supplanted them.

The Coming of the Dutch

One of the employees of the Portuguese merchant fleet in the late 16th century was a Dutchman who wanted to see the world, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten. He went east in Portuguese service, took notes on all he saw, and left diaries in which he described the sea route to Goa and Malacca, the subtleties of eastern trade and the weaknesses of the Portuguese.[24] When political development in Europe stimulated the Dutch to launch an expedition to the East, they used Van Linschoten's accounts as a guidebook and established a base on Java's north coast, in the Muslim kingdom of Bantam.

As the Dutch established their dominance of Indonesia in the 17th century, they were opposed strongly by the Kingdom of Mataram, for the ruling princes recognized quickly that the Dutch trading monopoly was a threat to their power. During the first half-century of its existence the Dutch East India Company stayed aloof from native affairs, however, and occupied itself only with trade and commerce, as this was the main purpose for which it had been founded. Open conflict was avoided, as locked up in their forts the men had no eye for and no patience with the "strange" ways of the native population. Initially, Dutch activity centred around Bantam in western Java, capital city of the state of the same name, already a prosperous Islamic mercantile community, and a bit later around Batavia, founded in 1619; ports around the rest of Java's coast either assumed a secondary role or, excluded from the Dutch trading

pattern, declined. And of course Java's inland communities, largely agricultural, were hardly touched by the Europeans. Dutch influence was also noticeable in the ports of the outer islands such as Amboina, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands, but the interiors of these islands also remained largely untouched.

In the first half of the 17th century the Dutch were mostly opposed by Sultan Agung, the mighty ruler of Mataram, whose primary wish was to consolidate all of Indonesia under Islamic faith and rule.

> He endeavoured to bring the administration of justice into conformity with Islamic rules. . . . He installed courts whose members were drawn from the Moslem religious teachers and entrusted to them many affairs which until that time had been judged by the king or his representatives. . . . Thus the Moslem religious leaders began to play a more important role. . . .[25]

This aggressive assertion of Islam was at least in part an early response to expanding colonialism, a reaction that was to become more common. Agung occupied vast areas in eastern Java and had even captured independent Surabaya, an important trading centre, and the western part of the hostile island of Madura.

However, at this time the Dutch also were growing stronger and were expanding their position. Malacca, Portugal's base on the Malay Peninsula, was conquered by them in 1641, securing the western approaches to Indonesia and confining the Portuguese to India. Agung understood the power of the Dutch navy, and that the foreigners ruled the sea, but he was not yet defeated. Instead of contesting Dutch sea power, he turned to western Java and tried to get the state of Bantam under his power,

with the idea that this would allow him to dominate Jacatra*, the brand new city of Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen. But the Dutch understood Agung's intentions and supported Bantam, which refused to be a vassal of the powerful ruler. Fierce but unsuccessful attacks from Mataram on Jacatra lasted until Agung's death in 1647, by which time he had subjected all Java except Bantam and Jacatra. This did not mean that Bantam and the Dutch were always friendly allies, however; during Sultan Agung's reign Bantam protested against the blockade that the Dutch laid on its harbour to enforce a Dutch trade monopoly, and the people from Bantam even revolted. But despite the double threat of the Bantam revolt and Sultan Agung's attack, the Dutch did not give way, and maintained their position on Indonesia's main island.

In the second half of the 17th century serious trouble of various sorts drew the Dutch reluctantly into much deeper involvement in local affairs. When Sultan Agung's son, Amangkurat I, came to the throne he did not share his father's sentiment towards Islam, and he sought to affirm older Indonesian culture, considering Islam an "imported" faith. His reign was not only anti-Islamic, but also autocractic. His religious persecutions and his arbitrary rule caused dissatisfaction, and in the 1670's an opposition was formed under the leadership of Prince Trunajaya of Madura, whose bid for popular support also included violently anti-Dutch policies.

---

*Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen founded the city in 1619 at the mouth of the Tjiliwung River, on the site of a port originally called Sunda Kelapa but known to the people of Bantam at this time as Djajakerta--whence the Dutch Jacatra, and after 1949 the Indonesian Djakarta.

About the same time, the highly orthodox Sultanate of Bantam fell into difficulties. The ruler, Sultan Abulfattah Agung, was a devout Muslim who tried to make Bantam the centre of Islamic activity in the archipelago; but he also aspired to political and economic power, and he managed to maintain an extensive trade in rivalry with the Dutch of neighbouring Jacatra, eventually gathering an army to attack the Dutch colony. The East India Company had to react to these events in Mataram and Bantam, and the Dutch detachment from native affairs ended. The threat of attack from Bantam in the west, and the rise of Trunajaya's opposition in Mataram, the Company's rice bowl despite political disagreement, forced the Dutch to participate in native politics if they were to remain masters of the situation.

In Mataram, Prince Trunajaya defeated Amangkurat and burned his capital, and in an attempt to reach the Dutch for protection the once proud ruler died from exhaustion. After defeating Trunajaya, the Dutch built a new city, Karta Sura on the Solo River, where Mataram's new ruler, Amangkurat II was settled in regal splendour as a political dependent of the East India Company.

In Bantam affairs were less straight forward. There the sultan had no use for the Dutch, but his son, the crown prince (who was commonly known under the name of Prince Hadji because of a pilgrimage to Mecca), sought the friendship of the Dutch in order to receive the crown himself. The Dutch ultimately supported the prince's ambitions, defeated old Abulfattah's troops and took the sultan prisoner. Once Prince Hadji was on the throne of Bantam and Amangkurat was established in Karta Sura, the

Dutch had managed to put Indonesia's two most powerful Islamic states under their control,[26] and for all practical purposes a colonial empire had been founded.

In a period of national unrest and establishment of a foreign power on Indonesian territory, orthodox Islam had to fight against the deep-seated and traditional inclinations of the Indonesians, generally expressed in a mass of local customs called adat, which were remnants of an earlier animistic period. Already in the 15th century a Chinese Muslim had complained that the native Indonesian population "believed in devils",[27] though "spirits" might have been a better description. And despite professed conversion to Islam, these spirits remained important to the populace, receiving token offerings on such occasions as weddings, occupation of a new house, births, etc.

Islam also had to struggle to stay alive against Christianity, Catholicism introduced by the Portuguese and Calvinism brought by the Dutch. The Dutch Calvinist church especially, was eager to weed out any other form of religion, Catholic or Islamic.

> According to the prevailing ideas of the period . . . there was a sharp discrimination against all non-Christians, who, unfortunately, formed the majority of Batavia's* inhabitants. The law strictly forbade the public or secret exercise and teaching of any religion except that of the Dutch Reformed Church. . . . Nevertheless, Chinese and Moslems in practice enjoyed freedom of religion, if not inside, at least immediately outside the walls of the city.[28]

---

*Despite Coen's reluctance to use the name "Batavia" for his city, the Directors of the Company insisted on the name, which commemorated the old Roman name for Holland. Coen finally capitulated, and after 1621 Batavia was used, and Jacatra dropped in all official correspondence.

The Governors-General plainly refused to enforce so shortsighted a religious restriction in the territory of the East India Company and allowed widely the exercise of other religions. Despite prohibition in principle by Dutch law, the Dutch were busy trading and trying to set up a reasonable governmental system to control the vast territory they had come to dominate, and they were content that religion could develop in any manner as long as it did not threaten peace or profits. Thus, religious pressures upon the conquered were minimal, and the wars in the previous century with Mataram and Bantam, and the need for the preservation of identity under Dutch rule, had entrenched Islam in Java sufficiently to sustain the faith, with local adaptations, in the face of western influences and pressures.

Internal corruption of the Company's officials, and the agricultural revolution in Europe making the Indonesian spices superfluous, marked the beginning of the decline of the East India Company. Toward the end of the 18th century, the Company, which once had shown profits of millions of guilders per year, was in debt for fifty-five million guilders, and the Dutch state decided to take it over with its debts when the charter should next expire on December 31, 1799. By then the debts had increased to 134 million guilders, for which sum its property and rights went over to the Dutch state, and after 197 years the Dutch East India Company ceased to exist.[29]

Conclusion

Indonesia, roughly situated between Australia and the Philippine

Islands and mostly populated by people of Malayan stock, was involved from earliest times in trade patterns linking China, India and Europe together. Asia's main religions--Hinduism, Buddhism and Brahmanism--contributed to the shaping of its culture, but it was Islam that conquered the greatest part of the population, making Indonesians the most distant followers of the Prophet of Mecca. Ultimately, this religion proved to be one of the few common ties binding people of different ethnic, social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, together against the threat of the establishment of Portuguese and Dutch power.

The arrival of the Europeans made an end to the autonomous kingdoms of Java, and the main source of their existence, the spice trade, was taken over by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch. Originally interested only in commercial development, the Dutch in the second half of the 17th century became involved in the affairs of Bantam and Mataram, making both Muslim states political dependencies of the East India Company and laying the foundation of a colonial empire.

Through the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries the Company's profits soared, making Holland one of Europe's richest countries. But by the end of the 18th century, due to corruption of the Company's officials, the agricultural revolution in Europe, and the loss of access of trade goods such as Indian textiles (because of the growth of British power), the profits of the spice trade declined, so that at the end of the century the East India Company went bankrupt. In 1799 the Dutch state took over its property, rights and debts, terminating the existence of the once proud Company.

The 19th century was to see many changes under direct rule of the Dutch government. The most important of these was the establishment of a solid economic base in Indonesia, especially through the introduction of coffee. Due to the subsequent expansion of trade and commerce and the consolidation of political power, resulting in the need for man power created by these developments, the Dutch established a governmental school system for Europeans and Indonesians, that offers an interesting study of the interaction of two cultures within an institutional framework.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a general overview of Indonesia, see Jan O. M. Broek, "Indonesia, Republic Of", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XII, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago, 1970, pp. 171-176.

2. Arend Lijphart, The Trauma of Decolonization. The Dutch and West New Guinea, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1966, passim. See also Robert C. Bone, The Dynamics of the Western New Guinea (Irian Barat) Problem, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1962, passim.

3. The Papuan language is described in C. Loukotka, "Les Langues Papoues", in A. Meillet and Marcel Cohen, eds., Les Langues du Monde, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1952, pp. 723-731.

4. For geographical information see John Bartholomew, ed., The Times Atlas of the World, Vol. I, The Times Publishing Company, Ltd., London, 1958, plates 15-18. (Miles converted to kilometres.)

5. L. A. P. Gosling, "Malay Archipelago: Physical Geography", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIV, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago, 1970, p. 677. (Inches converted to centimetres.)

6. A description of the eruption of Krakatau is given by Gordon A. MacDonald, Volcanoes, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1973, pp. 236-240.

7. Pierre Ivanoff, Headhunters of Borneo, Edward Fitzgerald, transl., Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1958, passim.

8. For a lucid explanation of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, see J. Flaubée, "Langues Malayo-Polynésiennes", in Meillet and Cohen, eds., op. cit., pp. 649-673.

9. J. P. Sarumpaet and J. A. C. Mackie, Introduction to Bahasa Indonesia, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966, passim.

10. See J. Innes Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire. 29 B. C. to A. D. 641, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969, pp. 34-64.

11. Ibid., p. 48.

12. L. A. P. Gosling, "Malay Archipelago: Natural Resources", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIV, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago, 1970, p. 678.

13. Medieval Indonesia is described by Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara. A History of Indonesia, W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1959, pp. 35-79.

14. Ibid., pp. 185-188.

15. Ibid., p. 6.

16. H. J. de Graaf, "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century", The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. II, P. M. Holt, et al., eds., Cambridge, 1970, p. 123.

17. Ibid., p. 124.

18. Anon., "Islam", Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. II, S. de Graaf, et al., eds., 's-Gravenhage, 1918, p. 168. (Translation mine.)

19. C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia; Five Essays, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1958, pp. 35-37. For a very unpersuasive and seemingly ethnocentric contrasting interpretation, see R. L. Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra", Muslim World, Vol. XXVIII, July 1938, p. 232, who states: ". . . Islam, for the most part, is hidden from the common people. To them it seems to harmonize with the strange and mysterious things. . ., as for example: Arabic language, foreign dress, the hajji, etc." This seems rather superficial.

20. De Graaf, op. cit., p. 143.

21. Anon., op. cit., p. 168.

22. Dr. F. W. Stapel, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië, J. M. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam, 1930, p. 27.

23. J. H. Parry, The Establishment of the European Hegemony: 1415-1715, Harper and Row, New York, 1961, p. 38.

24. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, 2 vols., (from the old English translation of 1598), A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, eds., B. Franklin, New York, N. D., passim.

25. Vlekke, op. cit., p. 150.

26. Ibid., pp. 164-184.

27. De Graaf, op. cit., p. 130.

28. Vlekke, op. cit., p. 157.

29. Stapel, op. cit., pp. 180-194.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COLONIAL PATTERN

The 19th century saw the full development of Dutch economic and political control in Indonesia. As a by-product, a governmental school system was established, offering education to the European and the indigenous population, ending the monopoly of the missionary and the Koranic schools. Because of disputes arising between the Dutch and the Indonesians, basically on questions such as superiority of race and social rank, the Dutch colonial administration decided to found a plural school system with separate curricula to offer "appropriate" education to the several population groups.

The Dawn of a New Era of Colonialism

At the end of the 18th century, when Holland came under the rule of revolutionary France, Stadholder William V had to flee to England, whence he tried to persuade the Dutch to ally themselves with the English and to give them trade rights in the Far Eastern colonies. However, the political interest of the Stadholder and the economic interests of the Dutch merchant patricians conflicted, and this advice was not received favourably. Consequently, in Indonesia the English blockaded Dutch trade and raided freighters and coastal areas.

When Napoleon became Emperor of France, Holland changed from a republic into a kingdom under Napoleon's brother, Louis, who sent to Indonesia a new Governor-General. Herman Willem Daendels, an ex-lawyer,

who had served as a marshall in the French revolutionary army, arrived on Java in 1808, where he quickly demonstrated varied skills as an army commander and civil administrator. In judicial matters, he recast the legal system, making a clear division between indigenous and foreign law suits: foreigners were to be judged by Dutch courts and natives by their regents.[1] Unfortunately, Daendels himself did not always abide by his own rules and sometimes punished offenders privately, without judicial consultations. He also became involved in illegal land deals which eventually ruined him politically. Nonetheless, Daendels was a product of the European enlightenment movement and was very much concerned with the intellectual development of the native population; he decreed that the sultans had to see to it that education was given to children, with an emphasis on their own culture, and for this purpose they had to establish schools.[2]

Daendels' innovations in civil administration and technical progress were matched by outright disasters in his dealings with the princes of Java. Careless of court ceremonial, he stumbled irreverently into royal circles, interfering in affairs that had run smoothly for centuries. Daendels thought that the Kratons, the palaces of the rulers, were centres of conspiracy and stubborness; and he did not hesitate to degrade sultans and regents to mere employees of the government, by taking away their power to handle monies distributed to the peasant population. Such high-handed actions resulted in fierce anti-Dutch groups being formed, a development which was to have disastrous consequences for the Dutch. When the English attacked Java in 1811, the Indonesian sultans were

reluctant to support the Dutch troops, and some helped the English. Against this combination the Dutch colonial army was powerless, and it was defeated quickly, with the result that Indonesia passed under English administration for the next five years.

During the period of English control Indonesia was governed by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor. He tried to establish peace with the angry sultans, who had expected the defeat of the Dutch to result in their independence, not English rule, but he did not hesitate to use force if they refused to listen to his propositions. Raffles also fought unsuccessfully against slavery in Indonesia, and made an attempt to ban it.[3] Most notably, however, he tried to improve Indonesian government, just as Daendels had done.

> Daendels' and Raffles' reforms together, seen as a whole, constituted a complete transformation of the Javanese system of government. These reforms tended to substitute a European for an Asian form of administration. Their fundamental purpose was to replace the feudal system by a modern organization. Direct rule of the people by paid government officials was to take the place of indirect rule through the intermediation of hereditary chiefs.[4]

Raffles' most revolutionary innovation was to change radically the "existing relations between the peasants and the Javanese 'regent' of their district [through a new system of land rents]. The tax reform provided . . . [an] opportunity to abolish the regents' claims to material support and free labour."[5] With the introduction of the new land rent system, which encompassed regulated renting systems and equal distribution of taxation amongst the villagers, Raffles hoped the government could deal directly with the peasant population and vice versa.

This experiment led to disaster, however, for not only did the local nobles resent the threat to their traditional positions, but also the illiterate population was used to having an intermediate person dealing for them; the step from feudalism to direct government was introduced too suddenly, and the Indonesian peasant could not cope with it.

A Time of Conflict and Consolidation

After the defeat of Napoleon the English agreed to return Indonesia to Holland, and Dutch authority was restored in 1816 under Governor-General Van der Capellen. He suppressed the buying and selling of land by affluent foreign financers, a practice which often had left the peasants without land holdings. But ironically, this progressive and humane man triggered a "holy war" that raged through Java. When the Sultan of Jogja died, Dutch influence assured that a younger son inherited the throne; however, there was on older heir, Prince Dipo Negoro, who now left the court and wandered around the countryside, preaching Islamic dedication and hell and damnation for the Dutch. He had many supporters amongst commoners, but to have a solid army the prince needed support from the aristocrats, who were reluctant to give it because of the profits they could acquire by serving the Dutch, despite their resentment. However, the policies of the Dutch under Van der Capellen helped to give Dipo Negoro this support: when the aristocrats were forced, as major landowners, to pay indemnification to lease holders because of illicit use of compulsory labour, thus terminating an important source of their income, they rallied to the prince, and from 1825 to 1830 a guerilla war

raged through Java. Ultimately the Dutch were victorious, and Dipo Negoro was exiled to Celebes. But this rebellion, in combination with a cholera epidemic, caused deaths of a quarter of a million people, and it was a considerable stimulus to Islamic religious enthusiasm, strengthening the advocates of pure orthodoxy.

The rule of Governor-General Van de Bosch saw the introduction in 1830 of a viciously exploitative economic practise, euphemistically called the cultuur stelsel (culture system), which forced the agrarian population to cultivate crops that were useful for export purposes. Part of the harvest of coffee, sugar and indigo had to be delivered to the government as tax payments. The sugar and indigo crops proved unproductive, but the coffee made money, and by securing the shipping rights for the products of this system exclusively for the Dutch merchant marine, a profit of 823 million guilders was made between 1831 and 1877.[6] That the Javanese peasant hardly made a penny and frequently starved despite his hard labours was conveniently overlooked, as the profits would pay off handsomely the accumulated Dutch debts. A positive side of the culture system, however, was the introduction of foreign crops such as tea, tobacco and quinine, which proved to prosper in Indonesian soils and became extremely marketable in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

Even the culture system was only a beginning, however, and free-trade liberals finally succeeded in establishing a sphere of private economic enterprise in the East; subsequently, new companies, of which Royal Dutch Shell is the most famous, and banks were established in Indonesia. This opened job possibilities, and in combination with the

opening of the Suez Canal in 1869--which brought all East Asian colonies closer to Europe--many Dutchmen were attracted to the archipelago. Despite this economic development, the financial situation in the second half of the 19th century was far from sound, however, as the colonial government could not make ends meet.

> Only by introducing new sources of income (which meant improving the methods and types of agrarian production and introducing western skills) could the income be raised. It was hoped that gradually a new class would be created in Indonesian society which so far had no real middle-class and that this new class would stimulate Indonesian economic activities, thus enabling the government to raise its income by taxation.[7]

In addition to these economic and fiscal problems, Indonesia also faced increasing religious unrest in the 19th century. During the Dipo Negoro rebellion of the 1820's, Indonesians became aware of their religion as a force with which they could resist the foreigners and a symbol with which they could identify themselves. "Islam became the standard-bearer of protest against changing times and consolidation amidst the ills of the world."[8] Hence, only shortly after the Napoleonic Wars, despite Indonesia's position on the far side of the Muslim world, it took Islam as its chief protection and defense against the Dutch, much as the Irish clung to their Catholicism as a defense against the English. The immigration of Arabs, fervently committed to their faith, into Indonesia in the second half of the century turned this tentative religious reaffirmation into a real revival movement.[9] The Dutch tried to stop Arab immigration without much success; but in fact, even if successful, this policy probably would have had little effect. The newly militant Islam propagated a different viewpoint about colonialism and

Christianity and preached that it was Islam's ultimate destiny to conquer them. Thus, when a new war broke out in 1895 between the Dutch and the Sultanate of Atjeh, many Indonesian Muslims saw this as the beginning of their expected victory over Christianity and as the chance to make Indonesia an exclusively free Islamic country.

The Atjeh war was a bitter affair. When the Dutch sent armies into northern Sumatra to end the incessant piracy of the Atjehnese on the fleets of foreign nations, the war-loving and devoutly Islamic population fought to protect their territory with all their power--to keep it free from any foreign influences, political or religious. The implications of the war were profound, for both the Company and the Dutch government always had treated Atjeh as an independent sultanate, and it now faced subjection to foreign rule. After years of severe jungle fighting the country was conquered by the Dutch in 1904, but it was not until 1918 that Dutchmen could enter it reasonably safely.[10]

Despite the Dutch victory in the Atjeh war, the forces that were to oppose them and ultimately to drive them out were gathering strength. Holland, after the Atjeh conquest, imposed her rule over the whole Indonesian country, submitting all native rulers from sultans to mere village heads to the colonial government in Batavia. This caused much local resentment, because the Dutch had ignored the lines that divided established indigenous independent areas from colonial territory. On the other hand, slave raiding expeditions to Borneo and Celebes were stopped, an act much appreciated by the interior tribes. But in a country with such diversity of customs and language, with such a gap between

aristocracy and commoners, the Dutch with their single rule could not please all, and perhaps as foreigners could please none, despite the economic boom that developed under their administration.[11]

In general, Holland's main interest in Indonesia remained focussed on commerce and bringing the entire region under her political power. Tentatively, under the influence of the 18th century Enlightenment movement in Europe, education was introduced in Indonesia, but only at the end of the 19th century did schools thrive, as administrative positions became available for the native population.

Education Before 1900

Indonesia's educational patterns developed very slowly, and education in the western sense was unknown till the Dutch introduced it in relatively recent times. The rudiments of a formal educational system, in the form of Koranic schools, had been established with the coming of Islam in the 13th century, but some schooling must have existed in the Hindu period, as it is known that when the Muslims penetrated Java and Sumatra they found theological institutes, in which religious leaders transmitted their knowledge to young boys. These schools apparently were transformed slowly into the Koranic schools,[12] where boys were taught to read and write Arabic, to enable them to read the Koran. The greater part of the population remained illiterate, however, and even these few schools deteriorated as the Koranic suras were learned by rote; the result was that the only advantage these "educated" young men had over their compatriots was their "knowledge" of the Koran, chiefly the ability

to chant phrases they could not translate, but they gained a high esteem among the population nonetheless. When, on top of all this, they managed to go on hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, their future was secured, as the villagers subsequently took care of all their expenses and provided them with clothing and food, regarding them as go-betweens, judges and teachers for their sons.[13]

Such was the educational situation when the Dutch arrived in Indonesia at the end of the 16th century. As from the outset their primary purpose was trade, they launched no extensive early efforts in native education as it was not important for their operations. And as in Europe of that time, even among their own people education was a private concern for those who could afford it--generally through their churches. In Indonesia, as in Holland, the curriculum was based on religion, and the well-to-do boys were introduced by their teachers and tutors into the secrets of their respective Holy Scripture.

At a personal level, fraternization between Dutchmen and local women was inevitable, of course, and it was accepted officially. Due to the absence of European women in Indonesia, the men mixed freely with the native women, without the Company taking offense. Aware of the social difficulties that would occur if mixed-blooded families returned to Holland, the Company discouraged the men from taking their native wives and resulting children back to Europe, as it was thought that they would not fit in the social pattern of 17th century Holland. If converted to Christianity and baptised, however, the mixed-blood children resulting from these alliances and their Indonesian mother received Dutch

nationality, and socially they were fully accepted in the Company's circle in the archipelago.[14]

Very few Indonesian commoners were in the East India Company's service, except in such minor positions as servants, cooks, messengers and common soldiers. Despite allowing personal connections between Dutchmen and local women, the native population generally was not included in the employment policies. Nonetheless, local chiefs held important posts as middlemen between the Dutch and the population; for without their cooperation little could be achieved; and as the Dutch realized this, the rulers were kept in high esteem. And mixed-bloods served usually as interpreters, as very few Dutchmen spoke an Indonesian language. Thus, Dutchmen sat on top of and in control of Indonesian society, but there were few points of contact and the day to day life of most Indonesians was unaffected; in a primarily agrarian society they continued as Muslim villagers ruled by Indonesians--aristocrats, headmen, and hajji--despite the Dutch presence.

In some areas schooling constituted an exception to this Dutch habit of detachment from native life. Missionaries worked among the "heathens" on the outer islands from the beginning of the Company's existence, and they established Dutch Reformed schools. The stimulation was the fact that the population of the Moluccas had been in close contact with the Catholic Portuguese and Spanish merchants and missionaries, who left their religious influence as a heritage for the fervently Protestant Dutch; thus, the Calvinist Church started to send teachers and missionaries to these "contaminated" areas to save them from Catholicism.[15]

However, no efforts were made to teach the children to better their future social and economic standards. Such matters as improvement of agriculture or fishing were not taught, and this schooling was therefore useless for the material needs of the population;[16] on top of this, the Bible was the universal textbook, and the language of instruction was Dutch. It is no wonder that teachers complained that they made no progress with the children and it was almost impossible to teach them to read.

During the 18th century the Dutch founded more schools in their colony, but: "the chief motivation was not the wish for betterment of the position of the native population, but the wish to preach the Gospel amongst all creatures."[17] Some of these schools had to be closed through lack of funds, teachers or students; but despite failures and difficulties encountered by the churches and the teachers in their attempts to found schools, some success should be noted. Though the records of attendance are fragmentary, it is known that:

> . . . in 1799 the number of students at Batavia was 639 (amongst which were sixty-six who were taught at home by local native teachers), on the northeast coast of Java 327, at Makassar only fifty, on Timor 593, on the west coast of Sumatra thirty-seven, at Cheribon six and at Bantam five. . . . In . . . 1695 the Moluccas counted 1,057 pupils while in 1708 the schools on Amboina counted 3,966 students. If one adds these figures together despite their uneveness--this is permitted as the school system did not increase in importance--then one comes to a total of 6,680.[18]

Until the 19th century, however, these were the only Dutch initiatives in education in Indonesia. Only a few wealthy Dutchmen had European families in the islands, and these could afford tutors; the Koranic schools served the needs of some Indonesians; and no one seems

to have been much interested in educating the bulk of the native children and the mixed-blood youth (the product of the liaisons between Dutchmen and native women). Moreover, missionaries were not allowed on Java in these early years, as the government feared they would clash with the militant Muslim population, which was striving for a pure form of Islam. This policy was modified only in the 19th century when the economic need for a variety of native employees necessitated some measure of European education for Indonesians, and Holland started to create a state controlled and financed school system that was open to all children in the archipelago.

The Growth of Public Education in Dutch Indonesia

In the 19th century Daendels' ideas, reinforced by progressive thought in Europe, found wide support:

> With the growth of nationalism, rulers came to recognize the political advantage of an instructed public; and about the same time, with the growth of industrialism, employers came to recognize the economic value of intelligent employees. Under the combined impact of these forces, education took on new functions.[19]

Not only in the west, but also in the Asian colonies, education suddenly became a focal point of the colonial powers. In the teens of the 19th century King William I of Holland sent to Indonesia a Professor Caspar Reinwardt, to establish a new school system, and it is not surprising that he modelled the curriculum on the one used in Holland. This first public European education in Indonesia was established in 1816, and the Colonial Constitution of 1818 stated:

> The Government makes the necessary provisions concerning schools for the Natives. The Government offers the Natives the opportunity to receive instruction in the Dutch schools.[20]

European schools then were established in several locations, and already in 1820 Java had seven public schools and twelve private ones.[21]

The outer islands remained for the first few years solely in missionary hands, but under Reinwardt's successor, governmental elementary schools were established in Makassar (1822) and on Amboina, Banda and Padang (1825), thus ending the monopoly of the church. However, church schools continued to be important and after 1851 the ban on them in Java was lifted, and the church took over part of the difficult task of education on this island.

The greater part of the permanent European population in Indonesia in the first half of the 19th century, though Dutch in name, led a native existence. Children were unacquainted with the Dutch language and only spoke the local patois, a phenomenon already noticed by Daendels, who urged Dutch families in Batavia to send their children to school in order to learn to speak their "native" tongue.[22] This situation was the result of a governmental decree of 1825 which reserved higher official positions for Dutchmen who had received their education in Holland and were especially "prepared" for their colonial tasks at the Academy of Delft. In an attempt to avoid any alienation of civil service loyalties from Holland, it stated that people who were not born and educated in Europe could not be promoted above the rank of kommies (clerk), and "only in exceptional cases a deviation could be made for those meritorious Indo-Europeans who at least had lived in Holland."[23] The results were that the higher

echelons of the governmental offices consisted solely of people who were sent out for a contractual period to serve in the East and that the local Europeans had no possibilities to enhance their position.[24]

Thus, a pattern of sharp educational divisions grew up. Well-to-do Dutch families sent their offspring to Europe to receive the best possible education, without mixing with the Indo-European and Indonesian population. Some modestly affluent parents educated their children in Indonesia but in exclusive schools for which they paid fees. And poor children received free education in less reputable state schools. This developed in Batavia into a distinct class difference, as paying students went to the "first" school and the non-paying youth was educated in the "second" schools. The usage of these terms survived until World War II, underscoring the social gap that continued to exist among Dutch colonial groups.[25]

The native schools, especially created so all the sons of Javanese nobles could be educated for posts as administrative officials, did not flourish. The power of the Koranic schools was enormous, and in a traditional way the population remained faithful to these institutions. The purpose of European education was not understood, and the parents refrained from sending their sons to school. One reason suggested for this was that "the Government had promised to make their function hereditary"[26] and this seemed to render the schooling superfluous.

Despite these many problems, the founding of elementary schools continued. In the main cities twenty children were needed to establish a school, but this number was for practical purposes lowered to fifteen

elsewhere. In 1833 there were already nineteen European schools on Java, and their number grew to fifty-seven in 1859,[27] while between 1846 and 1849 on the outer islands there were 15,445 native Christian students who attended missionary schools which were subsidized both by the government and the native population.[28] A bylaw passed in 1854 in Holland, declared that native children could not attend the European schools any more, and that the government would create separate schools for the native population, who had to pay tuition fees. The law of 1854 also stated that European schools had to be established where there was a sufficient European population, and in an attempt to limit the expanding missionary schools, it also provided that European students should receive free elementary education.[29]

The law of banning Indonesians from European schools was softened in 1864 by the liberal Minister of Colonies, Isaac Fransen van der Putte, who had a well-based knowledge of Indonesia, as he had worked for years in a sugar refinery on Java. Concerned with the education of the natives, he allowed Indonesians to return to the European schools if they wished. This aroused much opposition amongst the members of the Board of Education who feared that this new adjustment would end in a rush of Indonesians to the European schools, where they could receive free instruction, and the loss of European children, whose parents could object to mixed education.

The resistance was so vicious that in 1868 Minister Trakranen, Fransen van de Putte's successor, announced that Chinese and Indonesians would be subjected to tuition fees if they wished to attend a European

school. Taking into account the prosperity of the parents, they were classified into the four highest fee brackets, thus eliminating children from less affluent homes. Then, in 1871 the "first" schools demanded a decent knowledge of the Dutch language for admission, with the result that these schools came to be reserved solely for the European elite. Knowledge of Dutch was not required in other schools, as the bulk of the Indo-European children could hardly speak the language anyway.[30] Lack of money and/or of knowledge of the Dutch language became reasons for segregation and for the creation of a many-tiered school system.

On the other hand, despite efforts to keep Indonesians out of the European schools, the colonial government was very concerned about the education of natives--probably because they constituted a cheap work force--and schools were established for all Indonesians. These did not take account of the differences in the Indonesian social order, however, and putting aristocracy and commoners together invited failure. Rank and status conflicted and the future of the aristocrats--serving in the colonial government and becoming part of the western society--differed so sharply from that of the commoners (who remained in Indonesian surroundings) that joint education was impossible. The resentment came primarily from the aristocrats, as they felt their ancient privileges were violated when they were mixed with commoners in schools. An escape from the native schools was offered to the upper class by Fransen van de Putte in 1864, when he allowed their children to come back to the European schools, but during the next quarter of a century this solution proved insufficient.

Consequently, in 1892 the native school system was reorganized to allow for two different categories of schools. The artistocracy and the patricians attended the "first class" schools, where they had to pay tuition fees and were educated for five years. These schools were established in the major population centres, primarily port towns, as there the need for administrative personnel was highest, and the government tried to develop reasonable qualified Indonesian teachers through the establishment of native teachers' colleges.[31] For the commoners there were the "second class" schools in which the three R's were taught. A three year curriculum was created for the latter but this did not change significantly the illiteracy rate in the country. Education was free, but teacher qualifications were minimal. Often the teachers themselves had only a basic elementary education and were trying to teach what they had hardly learned. In both schools the language of instruction was the local tongue, and the Malayan lingua franca of the traders would be used only when there was a failure of communication between pupils and teachers who had learned the regional tongue as a second language. These schools changed names in the 20th century when they were upgraded to provide better education, but the basic organization established at the end of the 19th century was maintained.

The Koranic schools presented yet another problem, and the Dutch government did not quite know what to do with them. The education offered in these institutions did not turn out boys who could be trained for administrative jobs in the colonial government, but they remained very popular with the local population because of their commitment to

religion and their close ties to the village communities. Consequently, an all encompassing policy in 1889 allocated monies to all schools, without prejudice. For the most part the Koranic schools were attended by boys only, an effect of the Islamic religion. On the outer islands, however, which were exposed to Christianity, girls were a common sight in the classroom, and in the latter areas teachers often were the wives of the missionaries.

By modern standards, the quality of education in all schools was appallingly bad in the 19th century, especially in regard to teacher training. Recruitment of teachers was never easy, but the situation improved considerably when the first female teacher was accepted into governmental service in 1871,[32] and the supply thus was expanded. Another problem, especially in the native schools, was the complete lack of interest by the population. Only when the aristocracy began to realize that a governmental job could be secured after a training program, and could not be had on the mere merit of high birth, did they come to the schools. The commoners, not having this possibility, remained disinterested; and it was only in the 20th century, when jobs became available for them too, that they flocked to the schools, eager for a chance to improve their social position.

Conclusion

Thus, by the end of the 19th century four kinds of elementary schools had emerged in Indonesia and were recognized officially. First, there were the European schools, developed out of Reinwardt's system for

the Europeans and the few children of the Indonesian aristocracy who could pay the fees; however, these also were divided into ranks and in all of them the curriculum was more or less the same as in Holland, and the language of instruction was Dutch. Then there existed the first class and the second class schools for the bulk of the Indonesian elite and the commoners respectively. The goal of the former was to produce boys who could serve in the Dutch government; basically, that of the latter was to fight illiteracy. And finally there were the Koranic schools, which were religiously oriented and did not teach modern subjects.[33]

In the 19th century the Dutch still saw the indigenous population only in a subservient role, and the educational system reflected this. Moreover, the school system only reached urban centres and left the rural population untouched. But nationalistic voices were heard already, voicing demands for education that opened greater opportunities, demands that came to fruition in the following century. And, in addition, the requirements of an increasingly complex world forced the Dutch to more diversified and more sophisticated education for native peoples. These educational changes in the 20th century were an important part of the social and political transformation that culminated in ending 350 years of colonial rule and establishing an independent nation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara. A History of Indonesia, W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1959, pp. 247-248.

2. Ibid., p. 276.

3. Slavery was officially banned in 1860 by the Dutch government.

4. Vlekke, op. cit., p. 264.

5. Ibid., p. 266.

6. Ibid., p. 291.

7. Ibid., p. 314.

8. William R. Roff, "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. II, P. M. Holt, et al., eds., Cambridge, 1970, p. 168.

9. Dr. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, professor in Islamic Law and Religion at Leyden University, discovered during his stay in Mecca in the 1880's a whole colony of resident Indonesian Muslims, who stayed in close contact with friends and family in the homeland. This tie resulted in a revival of Islam as a force against Christianity and colonialism. Vlekke, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

10. For an extensive and informative historical, social and anthropological account of the life of the people of Atjeh, see Dr. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, De Atjèhers, 2 vols., Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1893-1894, passim. An English translation exists, The Achehnese, 2 vols., A. W. S. O'Sullivan, transl., E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1906, passim.

11. For Indonesia's unification, see Vlekke, op. cit., Chapter XIV, pp. 308-337.

12. Dr. I. J. Brugmans, Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, N. V., Groningen-Batavia, 1938, p. 15.

13. A lucid explanation of the troubles with the hajji, is given by W. J. A. Kernkamp, "Government and Islam in the Netherlands East Indies", N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine, transl., Muslim World, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, January 1945, p. 12.

14. Vlekke, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

15. Spreading of Calvinism is the only reason given for establishing missionary schools on the islands. See Dr. Hendrik Kroeskamp, Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country. A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia, Van Gorcum & Comp. B. V., Assen, 1974, pp. 9-10. See further, Sorimuda Nasution, "The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia, 1892-1920", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967, p. 25.

16. Brugmans, op. cit., p. 52.

17. Ibid., p. 60.

18. Ibid., p. 54.

19. J. S. Furnivall, Educational Process in South East Asia, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1943, p. 9.

20. Colonial Constitution of 1818, art. 100, par. 1, quoted in Brugmans, op. cit., p. 72. (Translation mine.)

21. Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, "The Educational System in the Netherlands Indies", Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam, Vol. II, 1938-1939, J. Th. Moll, ed., p. 15.

22. Vlekke, op. cit., p. 277.

23. Brugmans, op. cit., p. 85.
Both Mr. & Mrs. Vogelzang explain how after World War II they were considered to be sufficiently western to be reclassified European employees, though because both were born and educated in Indonesia, they fell in the Indo-European bracket. This reclassification meant that they received the right of European leave as well as an increase of salary.

From a taped conversation with Mr. & Mrs. L. S. W. Vogelzang, Amstelveen, Holland, May 17, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

24. This situation remained till the middle of the 20th century. For example, Mr. L. S. W. Vogelzang encountered it while job hunting in 1934. When he was accepted in an administrative position with a Dutch shipping company, he discovered that he received a lower salary than full blooded Dutchmen who did the same work, but who had received their education in Holland, a discrimination that was only rectified for him after World War II.

Mrs. J. M. M. Vogelzang-Appel experienced this too in her job as a teacher. She tells that there was a difference

in salary of ten guilders between and her colleagues who had received their education in Holland.

From a taped conversation with Mr. & Mrs. L. S. W. Vogelzang, Amstelveen, Holland, May 17, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

25. An example of the different European schools and the status that bound the western population to them, is the case of Mr. J. C. Sirag. Reared in an orphanage on Java, he attended the second European school, a matter in which such children had no choice, as the first European school was closed for them.

From a taped conversation with Mr. J. C. Sirag, Nieuw-Loosdrecht, Holland, May 20, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

26. See Schrieke, op. cit., p. 15.

27. Brugmans, op. cit., p. 97.

28. Ibid., pp. 121-122.

29. The points dealt with in the bylaw are described in Ibid., pp. 133-134.

30. Ibid., pp. 142-145.

31. The first teachers' training college for natives was founded at Solo in 1851, followed by the one in Bandung in 1866. Others were established after 1872. Dr. F. W. Stapel, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië, J. M. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam, 1930, p. 326.

32. The first female teacher accepted in colonial service was Miss Th. Heineman, who received her first job in Batavia.

33. J. S. Furnivall used a different terminology for these schools. He called the first class schools for the native elite the "Western Schools", the second class schools for the commoners the "Vernacular Schools", and the Koranic Schools the "Native Schools". In Colonial Policy and Practice. A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India, University Press, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 373-374.

CHAPTER IV

ACHIEVEMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Indonesia in the 20th century was the scene of the collision between rising nationalism and the desperate struggle of the Dutch to maintain political control. Reluctant to let Indonesians participate in the colonial administration, the Dutch government perpetuated its system of political control by means of the schools, which assured the Dutch their superior position and reduced the Indonesians to a subservient role. Despite protests from educated Indonesians, the Dutch remained oblivious to the turn of the tide: the school system was a buttress to colonial values and helped to keep the Dutch in control until the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Rise of Nationalism

At about the same time that the Dutch were conquering Atjeh and rationalizing their administration of Indonesia, with all the social, political and educational implications of those actions, nationalism was beginning to gather strength among the peoples of eastern and southeastern Asia. An important stimulus was the Russo-Japanese War, which ended in a Japanese victory in 1905. For the first time, an Asian nation had defeated European forces in open warfare, and throughout the colonial areas the news was received with joy, inspiring hope that European supremacy was waning and that Asians might soon be able to throw off the yoke of

colonialism. In Indonesia there were solid foundations for a national movement: Prince Dipo Negoro's rebellion; the stubborn Atjeh resistance; a growing social solidarity among the population as a consequence of Dutch policies; and, of course, the binding tie of a common faith in Islam.

An important element of many of the expressions of growing national consciousness in Indonesia was a many faceted effort to purge and purify Islam, both as a curb upon western influences on national life and culture and as a stimulus to common action amongst the many peoples and regions of the island nation. Across an archipelago that stretched for about 6,000 kilometres, with a population estimated over fifty million, diversity marked every area of "national" life: language, social structure, customs, traditions and even the degree of devotion to Islam. Not surprisingly, then, the growing religious enthusiasm resulted not in the formation of one reform group with a single set of goals but of several groups with varied goals, reflecting the variegated pattern of Indonesian life. The newly founded religious groups were most dynamic in highly developed areas, especially Java and Sumatra, and consisted mostly of men from the coastal areas, who belonged to the settled middle class. Urban, cosmopolitan, well acquainted with Europeans and European influences, these men possessed a burning zeal to rally their fellow believers to a life according to the rules of the Prophet. Despite their good intentions, their efforts sometimes caused conflicts, both religious and social.

Members of these groups were sent to the interior of the islands to teach the people how to live like good Muslims, and to explain the

Koran in the vernacular, a modern attempt to reach the masses. But it was widespread traditional usage to teach children in Koranic schools where the language of instruction was Arabic and learning was a rote process. This often left the students without any understanding, as illustrated by a letter of an educated Javanese girl.

> I cannot tell you anything of the Islamic law, Stella. Its followers are forbidden to speak of it with those of another faith. And, in truth, I am a Moslem only because my ancestors were. How can I love a doctrine which I do not know--may never know? The Koran is too holy to be translated in any language whatever. Here no one speaks Arabic. It is customary to read from the Koran; but what is read no one understands! To me it is a silly thing to be obliged to read something without being able to understand it.[1]

But while the criticism of the author was rationally sound, the mere thought of translating the Koran into the vernacular shocked many orthodox Muslims, and inevitably traditional purists opposed the activities of the new reform groups.

In their zeal for orthodoxy some of the reformers also attempted to wipe out the adat (ancient local customs, many with pagan origins) of the Indonesians, which often caused agonies of conscience for laymen caught between the traditional usages and the new demands of the faith they professed. In fact, modern scholars still pose the intriguing question whether the mass of Indonesians profess a pure form of the Islamic religion or whether it is just a veneer covering over a foundation of animism modified by Hindu-Buddhist aspects.[2]

One of the best known reform groups was the Muhammadijah, founded in 1912. It was

> . . . one of the several movements advocating Islamic reform in Indonesia during that period, but it developed

> its own distinctive outlook and style in that it remained on the periphery of nationalistic politics, sought to cooperate with the legal (Dutch) government and included both the study of religion and Western-style courses in its schools.[3]

Education was considered the most important medium through which Islam could be spread, the main goal being to familiarize the population with the religion to such a degree that it would become an intimate part of the individual's daily life. Provisions were made that Indonesians attending Dutch schools which provided no Islamic teaching could come to special institutes, called madrassa dinijah, to be instructed in their religion.

Other groups were formed too, and among them, "cautiously at first, but here and there with increasing vehemence, reformers finally and inevitably also came to criticize and challenge the political, colonial order."[4] Of these, the most important was Sarekat Islam (Islam Association), founded in the same year as Muhammadijah's establishment, an organization which soon attracted tremendous support. People flocked to it for its name without even knowing its principles, especially in the less developed areas.

The Sarekat Islam could not stay apart from politics, however hard it tried during the first years of its existence, and it quickly became unabashedly political as well as religious, though its leaders said that they would remain loyal to the Dutch government.

> At the Congress of Batavia in 1917, the leaders of the Sarekat Islam were already speaking in a quite different tone. Violently they attacked the administration, and if they did not mention the government as such they mercilessly criticized its officials. A demand for independence

> was brought up, although this was to be obtained by 'evolution', not by 'revolution'.[5]

After this congress, Sarekat Islam was deeply involved in politics, and it only used Islam as a medium to advocate nationalism, in which religion was to be the binding force for all Indonesians.

At this point, the association became an object of interest to the communist camp, which urged it to abandon religion altogether, and some activist leaders were attracted by the communist attacks on colonialism, however important Islam was for the members of the organization. As the pressure increased, Sarekat Islam surrendered to the communist doctrine and rephrased its philosophy on the basis of Marxism. This was too much for orthodox members of the party, and they left Sarekat Islam, arguing that atheism did not go together with Islam. They only returned when the communist control was shaken off and the organization slowly fought its way back to advocacy of nationalistic independence and religious solidarity.

As is often the case, the first signs of discontent were noticeable among the students. One should bear in mind that Indonesian students in the beginning of the 20th century were children of high-ranking people, mostly of the aristocracy, who were becoming aware of the exclusiveness of their own opportunities and were eager to broaden the avenues of access to education. Yet at the same time they resented the irrelevance and cultural bias of the education offered to them even on a limited basis. As Memmi has noted:

> The very great majority of the colonized children are in the streets. And he who has the wonderful good luck to

> be accepted in a school will not be saved nationally. The memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people. The history which is taught him is not his own. . . . Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. He and his land are nonentities. . . .[6]

Such a movement, restricted to young intellectuals and aristocrats, was Budi Utomo (High Endeavour), founded in 1908. It was ". . . the first Javanese association, [and] is generally accepted as the birth date of the Indonesian nationalist movement."[7] Aloof from doctrinaire matters, this organization, which had members among students in both Indonesia and Holland, concentrated upon awakening nationalism in the archipelago. It remained quite exclusive, as the members came from high ranking Indonesian families. A mixture of commoners and this priyayi (noble) group was impossible, even in dedication to nationalism, for the adat kept them apart; and when Sarekat Islam was struggling to escape communist domination, Budi Utomo refused to help.

Unlike Muhammadijah and Sarekat Islam, Budi Utomo made no public claims of dedication to Islam, identifying itself as a movement for the advancement of Indonesian culture and national awareness. Alleging that Islam was a static force, the leaders tried to change Indonesia's cultural outlook by modern approaches, claiming:

> . . . that Islam had hardly changed the Javanese outlook on life from its basically Indonesian prototype and that the Islamic ideals never had radically modified that spiritual attitude.[8]

Important amongst the tactics of Budi Utomo were protests against the Dutch governmental rules concerning schools and it started founding nationally oriented educational institutes, such as the Taman Siswo (Pupil Garden) schools. These schools stressed the importance of the

local culture, while also offering European subjects, preventing students from losing contact with both worlds in which they had to function.

The Dutch government, reluctant to expand secondary education for the Indonesians--to avoid occupation of influential positions in the administrative and business world--was forced to do so by Sarekat Islam, thus opening more opportunities for the native population. The Muhammadijah, recognizing the shortage of schools and the importance of retaining an Indonesian and Muslim identity, established religious institutes in which the curriculum was equal to that of the Dutch schools, but where Islam became an important part of the overall education program. The population flocked to these schools, partly because of nationalistic and religious feelings, partly because of insufficient opportunities given by the Dutch government.

Beside these three main movements, many smaller groups were founded, not only on Java, but also on the other islands. Their main philosophy was generally in accordance with the big organizations, but none of them were so powerful as the three groups mentioned above.

The years between 1920 and 1930 saw the rise of the men who later were to be powerful in the fight against the Dutch government, most notably Sutomo, Saffrudin, Hatta and Sukarno. They emphasized nationalism and became Indonesia's most prominent champions for independence and the national cause. When the Indonesian Republic was created, Sukarno and Hatta became her first leaders.

The 1920's were Indonesia's boom years. World markets expanded rapidly, and plantations specializing in cane sugar and rubber, as well

as tin mines and oil wells, produced a steady and abundant flow of fluid cash in the archipelago, as had not happened before. Money found its way to all social classes of the population, Dutch and Indonesian alike, and funds poured into the colonial treasury. The government, however, remained curiously inactive in the area of social services, despite abundant colonial revenues and nationalist pressures. Vague promises were made to the Indonesian national leaders that self-government would come ultimately, when the population was "ready" for it; but what would mark this point of "readiness" was never specified, and despite ever louder demands of the Indonesians, the Dutch maintained consistently that the time had not arrived, and offered only minimal concessions--palliatives, not solutions.

The 1930's were characterized by nationalist demands, which the government proved unable to handle. In trying to restrain the movements from becoming too activist, many leaders were deported from Java or jailed; but instead of curbing nationalist feelings this policy made the leaders martyrs, and the population simply waited for their return. In the economic sphere things differed, as

> . . . the effects of the great depression of the early nineteen-thirties led . . . the Dutch administrators to encourage native industry; and when the revival of trade and industry began, a spirit of greater co-operation began to show itself between Dutch and Indonesians.[9]

In the spring of 1942 British Singapore fell to the Imperial Japanese Army, which soon completed its conquest of all of southeast Asia, destroying the myth of western military invincibility. When Indonesia fell in March 1942, the Japanese discovered feelings of

nationalism that were much deeply rooted in the population than the Dutch ever had understood. They incorporated the islands into their "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere", and tried to make use of this in their own interest, but their efforts were never wholly persuasive. Ultimately they managed to bring everything--from mosque supervision to school curricula--under their control, paralyzing Islamic organizations and bending Indonesian life to Japan's wishes while forcing the population to deliver as much rice as possible.

Despite all this, by the end of the Japanese occupation tremendous impetus had been given to the movement for independence from Holland; for however demanding, the Japanese at least were able to appeal to the Indonesians as fellow Asians in league against the Europeans. When an Indonesian Republic was proclaimed unofficially in 1945, both political and religious groups pledged themselves to defend it: the former for Indonesia (the nationalists) and the latter for religion (the reforming Muslims).[10] The years immediately following the end of the Second World War were marked by a civil war to force the evacuation of the Dutch colonial government; finally, in 1949 the Republic of Indonesia was officially recognized by Holland, and it was admitted to the United Nations a year later. The roots of this ultimately successful national movement run all through the educational system, and the two developments --modern education and nationalism--are so closely related that neither can be considered apart from the other.

The Colonial School System, 1900-1942

By the end of the 19th century the Dutch had established complex

school systems, providing education for both Europeans and Indonesians. What now caused waves of disturbances was the national awakening of the Indonesian population that demanded the right to solid European education and desired admittance to all available schools. This demand was not received favourably, but it triggered some activity amongst Dutch officials. The result was the so-called Ethical Policy, which strove ". . . in the direction of greater State activity to promote efficiency and social justice."[11]

The first step in the direction of social justice was that in 1903 the European schools were reopened to the Indonesian aristocracy, as they had been in 1864, and the influx of students became overwhelming. Protesting Europeans, seeking to protect Dutch exclusiveness, claimed that education of Indonesians in these schools caused deterioration of scholarly levels. They argued that the presence of the Indonesian students slowed down the pace to such an extent that the European children fell behind their school mates in Holland.[12] On the other hand, angry high-ranking Indonesian parents voiced their irritation to the government that their children, when applying for admittance to European schools, had to cede precedence to Europeans, and that many times their off-spring were placed in schools that were below their social rank.

The problems concerning the aristocracy and the prominent chiefs were serious, for they concerned children likely to become state officials, eventually holding responsible positions. This difficulty was recognized by some Dutch officials. For example, in 1907 the Advisor for Native Affairs, G. A. J. Hazeu, wrote to the Director of Education, Public

Worship and Industry, J. G. Pott, pointing out that the government, by allowing such a situation, failed to fulfill its promise to give the best education possible to the sons of the aristocracy.[13]

The basis of the problem was simple; there were not enough schools for the multi-million population of the islands. As least as serious as the limited educational opportunities for the aristocratic children was the shortage of second-class schools, established for the knowledge-hungry Indonesian commoners. In 1901 it was reported that there were too few of these schools on Java and Madura, as figures indicate that there were only 422 subsidized schools (212 governmental and 230 private ones) for a population of 25,370,545, which meant that one school served 57,400 people. It was proposed to erect immediately 1,300 extra second-class schools, one in each district and sub-district.[14] In 1905, one of the district-officers, Mr. J. E. Jasper, was appointed by the government to survey the situation of schools in the district of Surabaja. In his extensive report[15] he advised The Hague to make drastic changes in and expansions of the second-class schools, and the government agreed to open 700 schools, of which 186 would be founded in 1907. For this purpose an amount of fl. 583,000 was put on the budget of that year.[16]

To accommodate the European population and to protect their schools it was decided to diminish the stream of Indonesian children to these institutes. To achieve this, the first-class Indonesian schools received a new curriculum in 1907, emphasizing the Dutch language, which was to be introduced after two years of education in the local tongue. Dutch

would become the language of instruction thereafter, and to train the children more thoroughly in this foreign tongue, the initial five years of instruction were lengthened by another one. To introduce the Dutch language properly, the staff of each first-class school had to include two European teachers. For this first year that the new system was to be launched, the government thought it could provide the two teachers for twenty already existing first-class schools, and the budget showed for this purpose and amount of fl. 43,200 to cover the extra salaries and new educational supplies.[17]

As soon as this measure was taken there was rigorous enforcement of the rule that only those Indonesians could be allowed in European schools who could speak Dutch, and the Minister of Colonies, D. Fock, advised Governor-General Van Heutsz that subsequently it would be unnecessary to admit Indonesian students to European schools, as these no longer were the only facilities where Dutch could be learned. Clearly these measures constituted a great success for Dutch exclusiveness, although they did expand educational opportunities for Indonesians.

The first-class schools were again upgraded in 1911, when a seventh year was added to the curriculum and the name was changed to Hollands Inlandse School (H. I. S.)--Dutch Native School. The whole curriculum of the H. I. S. was based on the European model, and successful students could continue to European secondary education. The model for this reform was the Hollands Chinese School (H. C. S.), established many years before to offer European style education outside the regular system to the children of immigrant Chinese, who were always given special

consideration in colonial Indonesia.[18]

The second-class schools, with an Indonesian oriented education and five classes, continued largely unchanged, though their numbers increased. And to spread education as much as possible, Governor-General Van Heutsz created in 1907 the so-called desa (village) schools. These had as their purpose to teach the village children the three R's in their native tongue and to introduce them to some basic vocational training and agricultural education, which would enable them to become more productive members of their communities.[19] Unfortunately, these were only three year schools, insufficient to establish permanent literacy, but they indicate some sympathy on the part of the Governor-General despite retrograde governmental policy.

Thus, in the early 20th century the Indonesian elementary school system consisted of three branches: the first-class schools, the second-class schools and the village schools. All these schools were subsidized by the government, except the village schools. The European youth received a tuition free education, but all others had to contribute to the costs.

Where the population was too small to justify the foundation of a European school, but where an H. I. S. or an H. C. S. was available, parents could either send their children away to the nearest European school, or they could apply for admission to the local H. I. S. or H. C. S. European children attending an H. C. S. were exempt from tuition fees, but in 1914 a different rule was made for European admission to the H. I. S. European parents could not insist on priority in registration;

they had to pay tuition fees, and, despite their pleas for exemption, their children had to follow the Dutch language lessons taught by Indonesian teachers. The only non-compulsory subjects were lessons in the local and the Malayan language.[20]

The second-class schools, intended for the middle-class Indonesian child, proved to be a continuous financial drain, as these schools became the general educational route for Indonesian children. In 1929 the government decided to abandon most of them, retaining only those in the larger population centres; but as a rule the village schools were upgraded and the study lengthened to five years--three years basic education and two years continuation education--to take their place.[21] This was a clever fiscal maneuver, since from the beginning the village schools were built and maintained by the local population, the government only giving supplementary financial support where it was proven necessary. In virtually discontinuing the second-class schools, an estimated fl. 47,000,000 was saved annually.[22] No doubt children from poorer urban middle-class families suffered from this change, but it made little practical difference to the overall system, for the expanded village schools filled the gap for those who could afford them in the countryside.

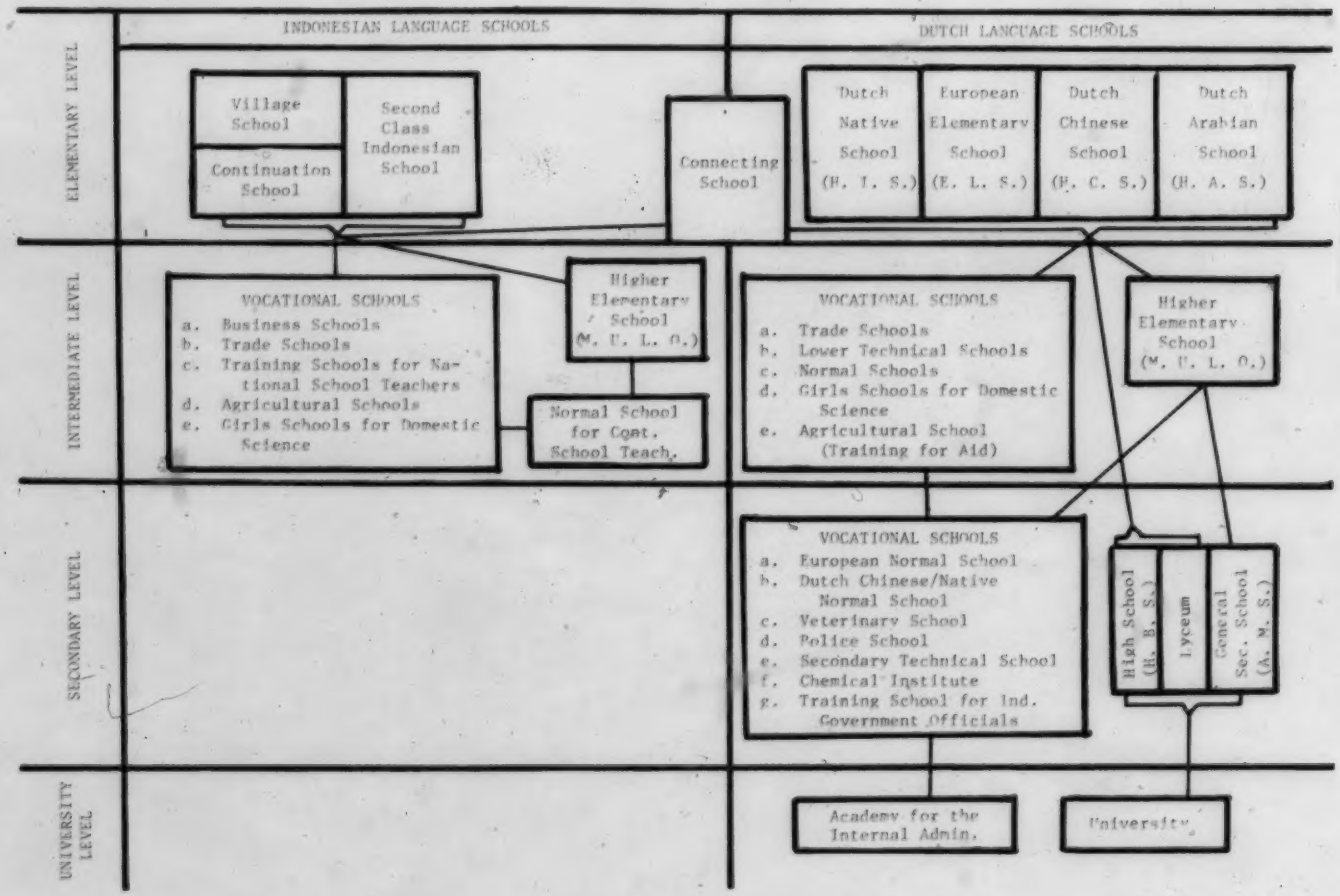
The dual school system of the later years of colonial Indonesia provided two major patterns, depending upon the language of instruction.* A Dutch speaking student could go from elementary school to high school and further to the university without many difficulties. If this route

---

*See Chart on p. 68.

THE COLONIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

Adapted from Djajadiningrat, Raden Loekman, From Illiteracy to University. Educational Development in the Netherlands-Indies, Bulletin 3 of the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, presented at the 8th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada, December 1942. Appendix.



were too demanding, such a student could go to the Higher Elementary School or to the school for More Expanded Elementary Education, and from there to the General Secondary School, and then to the university. For many jobs, however, post-secondary education was not necessary, as on-the-job-training was fairly common. Alternatively, a vocational route could be followed by the Dutch speakers, which would train the student for employment as teacher, government employee, veterinarian, etc. This route entailed progression from elementary school into intermediate vocational schools with the possibility of continuing into secondary level vocational schools.

The steps from school to school in both the academic and vocational patterns, were straightforward, each promotion marked by an examination, and the system opened a good future for those who succeeded in finishing it. Because of the difficulty of language requirements, most Indonesian, Chinese and Arabic children followed the Higher Elementary School alternative, and for most of them this was the top education they could achieve, as language problems barred the way to further schooling; from here they entered business life.

The pattern of the Indonesian language schools did not pose any difficulties either, if the student remained in it; the system was very restricted, however, offering no opportunities for university education and only intermediate vocational training. Students attending the village schools could stop their education after having mastered the three R's, or they could go forward to the continuation school, whence access was open to either the Indonesian Higher Elementary School or the various

intermediate vocational schools. The same choices were all that was available to urban students coming through the second-class schools. Indonesians graduating from this school system were destined to remain in their native world, and could never aspire to positions in the European educational, political or economic world.

The colonial dual system became complicated when students attempted to exercise their theoretical right to switch from the Indonesian language schools to the Dutch language schools. Despite the assurances on paper that schools were inter-connected and that students could easily transfer from one school to another, in reality they existed in separate vacuums. In an undated note, probably from the hand of the general secretary G. J. Staal, reproducing the personal opinions of Governor-General Idenburg, the following is stated:

> European and Native education . . . have a separate existence.
>
> European education, . . . forms a separate entity, that has no other contact points with Native education than the connection of European elementary schools to some Native vocational schools or their preparatory classes.
>
> Next to it exists the Native elementary educational system, with its three independent institutes, the first-class school, the second-class school and the village school, that miss any connection to any part of the European system, which are not connected with one another by a natural, gradual relation* and also do not fit directly in all real Native vocational education.
>
> But as the branches of the European schools point directly to the final goal, or better to the many goals to which they are aimed, the objection to the organization of the native system is that its institutes--especially the elementary school section--come to a dead end, at least fail to bring the pupils in a straight line to the special schools for secondary education.[23]

---

*Connections between second and first class do exist. [Probably a correcting footnote made by the secretary.]

The most difficult connection was from the Indonesian elementary schools to the European secondary schools. To help in the transition, a Schakelschool--Connecting School--was founded in 1921, to give the students a crash course in the Dutch language and to make the transition from the Indonesian oriented to western oriented education, so that it became feasible to attend the school for More Expanded Elementary Education (M. U. L. O.), the gateway to higher education. Here students were once more submitted to extensive Dutch language courses before the actual M. U. L. O. education was started. But usually this transfer failed, for the language barrier was too severe and seldom could be overcome. Thus, while theoretically an open system existed, into which students from the Indonesian schools could transfer, in practice invisible barriers blocked access to the European system.

The High School (Hogere Burger School, Higher Burgher School or H. B. S.), was actually not an intrinsic part of the colonial school system. It was part of the system in Holland and was transplanted to Indonesia to accommodate the children of those Dutchmen who stayed just for a few years in the country, the so-called Trekkers (Drifters). The General Secondary School (Algemeen Middelbare School or A. M. S.) was especially created for the Indonesian youth and the children of the Dutchmen who made their home in Indonesia, the Blijvers (Stayers). It was a promising school system, comprising three sub-divisions--western classics, eastern classics and science. Students with special affinity for the sub-divisions could arrange their studies around one of these branches and, if they wished, could continue their studies further at the

university. The potential of the A. M. S. never developed fully, however, as the prestige of the Dutch H. B. S. grew and pulled many students away, degrading the A. M. S. to the second class school.[24] Students finishing successfully the A. M. S. or H. B. S. could continue their studies at the university in Djakarta, which offered a choice among the professional faculties--engineering (since 1920), law (since 1924) and medicine (since 1927),[25] or they might go to universities in Holland.

Private Initiatives

These developments were far from satisfactory to articulate Indonesians. Nationalism had developed to a full-blown force, and discontented voices could be heard daily in the archipelago--with the continuous troubles about the schools aggravating the situation. Despite attempts to straighten out the many difficulties concerning Indonesian youth and European schools, little effect was felt, and in practise most Indonesians continued to be limited to a second-class school system, which rarely comprised more than six or seven years and prepared graduates only for lower-level employment.

In the beginning of the 1920's a colourful Javanese nobleman, related to the royal family of Jogjakarta, Raden Mas* Suwardi Suryaningrat (also called Ki Hajar Devantoro) created the Taman Siswo (Pupil Garden) schools. The ideology behind these schools was that all what was taught should fit into Javanese culture and not be foreign to it. Thus the

*Raden Mas is a Javanese title of nobility, used only by males.

curriculum consisted of western and Javanese subjects, the language of instruction was Javanese, and special attention was given to the relation between the guru (teacher) and the siswo (pupil), which had the character of a parent-child relationship, a very important aspect of southeast Asian education. Were these schools to be established in other parts of the country, it was intended that they should be steeped in the local culture. Despite the fact that the schools never received any subsidy from the Dutch government--and Devantoro refused any help as he was afraid that the schools would have to be remodelled according to Dutch rules--they grew steadily. Around 1940 there were 225 such elementary schools with 17,000 pupils; in addition, records list twenty M. U. L. O. schools, one secondary school and six teacher training colleges[26] with no notice of the numbers of students enrolled.

The last element in the elementary school pattern of colonial Indonesia that ought to be considered is the "wild" schools.[27] These were not part of the public school system, but rather grew up beside it. Thus, technically, the Taman Siswo school could be called a "wild" school, although more commonly the term was used to refer to a variety of private institutions, which began to become popular in the early 1920's. These schools were not set up according to Dutch governmental rules and received no subsidy. As there was a chronic lack of European oriented education, this was offered by the bulk of the "wild" schools. Parents paid extremely high tuition fees, especially in those schools that were set up as a business enterprise. Generally the education offered was very bad, and many of their students failed the entrance

exams for the secondary schools.[28] To get subsidy, these schools had to undergo a rigorous inspection and had to comply with the government's rules. Only when satisfactory changes were made, qualified personnel was hired, and books were updated, was the subsidy paid, and the school remained subject to regular inspections, just as any other school. Thus, at that point it ceased to be a "wild" school, and was absorbed into the regular system. As many never met the standards, however, the private "wild" schools continued to be a feature of Indonesian education to the end of the colonial period.

Female Education

One of the earliest challenges to traditional schooling was the demand for female education. Around the beginning of the 20th century higher and vocational education was directed towards boys; girls could only informally prepare themselves for traditional roles as wives and mothers. The attitude of the men was backed by the Koran which states:

> Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other, and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them.[29]

This formed the basis of the passive, humble and silent role the women had.

The existing attitude against women was challenged vehemently by a daring and aggressive young woman, Raden Adjeng* Kartini. Her influence

---

*Raden Adjeng is a Javanese title of nobility that has no exact English counterpart; the closest translation is "the Most Honourable Miss".

in education for women and in the development of nationalism is still felt long after her death. She was born on April 21, 1879, the second daughter of the Regent* of Japara. Her father was a very progressive aristocrat, and sent all his children to school, girls included. But education for the girls stopped in grade six, and Kartini and her sisters had to come home, never to go out of the palace again until they married. Kartini was not reconciled to the role expected of her, and some years later she wrote:

> There is much misery in our Javanese women's world, there has always been so much suffering, so much bitterness. The only road which lies open to a Javanese girl, and above all to one of noble birth, is marriage. From far and near we know of the horrible misery of the woman caused by certain Islamic institutions that are so easy for the man, but oh, so bitterly hard and miserable for her. . . . The Eastern woman's heart has not changed. Many think it an honor to tolerate with unmoved countenances the one or more women their husbands have brought home, but do not ask what is hidden behind that iron mask, or what the walls of the dwellings could tell when the eyes of the world are removed. There are so many burning women's hearts, with poor, innocent, suffering, childlike souls. And it was the misery that I saw, even in my childish years, that first awakened in me the desire to fight against these timehonored customs, and substitute justice for old tradition.[30]

She pleaded with her father to let her continue her education, but even this progressive man could not break further with the Indonesian adat, which dictated that a girl, after having reached puberty, could not mix freely with men any more and had to remain at home till she married. Nonetheless, Kartini continued to struggle against the strictures that bound women in the oppressed Islamic society, and:

---

*A Regent was an Indonesian of high rank who governed a part of Indonesia under the supervisory authority of the Dutch colonial administration.

> . . . in order to escape this practically insupportable situation, she claims for girls the right of school instruction as the only effective means of true emancipation.[31]

Fortunately, Kartini was allowed to have as many books as she wanted, and she even began to correspond with a fervent Dutch feminist, Stella Zeehandelaar; it was to Stella that Kartini complained about the limits set to her self-fulfilment, sketching in her letters a clear picture of the situation on Java around the turn of the century. With a wisdom rare in so young a girl, she wrote in 1900:

> The Javanese are grown-up children. What has the Government done to further their development? . . . The Government believes, to my thinking, that if people were educated, they would no longer be willing to work on the land.[32]

It was especially concern for the people that stirred Kartini, for as a member of the nobility she saw clearly how many advantages her class had as compared to poor common people.

> We [the nobility] wish to equal the European in education and enlightenment, and the rights which we demand for ourselves we must also give to others [commoners]. This putting of stumbling blocks in the way of education of the people, may well be compared to the acts of the Tsar, who while he is preaching peace in the world, tramples under foot the good rights of his own subjects. Measure with two measures, no![33]

Moved both by nationalism and by feminism, she wanted to become a teacher, but it was only in 1902 that her father consented. She started a school in the Regent's residence which grew steadily.

When she married and moved to Rembang, she immediately opened a school in her own house, encouraged by her husband. She felt the obligation that, as an educated woman, she should pass her knowledge to

others and not follow the route many of the Javanese women had walked, about which she wrote:

> There are many educated native women . . . who have been hampered not at all in the cultivation of their minds, who could have become anything that they would, and yet they have done nothing, have attempted nothing that could lead to the uplifting of their sex, and of their race. They have either fallen back wholly into the old civilization, or gone over to that of the Europeans; in both cases being lost to their people to whom they could have been a blessing, if they had but willed it. Is it not the duty of all those who are educated and on a higher plane to stand by with their greater knowledge and seek to lighten the way for those who are less fortunate? No law commands this, but it is a moral duty.[34]

Then on September 13, 1904, Kartini gave birth to a son, and suddenly, four days later, she died.

Kartini was not forgotten, and the impact this woman made on native education is still very much alive. After her death, her work was continued by her sisters, and all across the country young women became involved in education and escaped one way or another from their fathers' residences long before their marriages. In 1912 the efforts Kartini had launched received significant new support from a Mr. C. Th. van Deventer, a lawyer in Semarang, who was deeply distressed by the contrast of Dutch prosperity and Indonesian poverty. Sincerely believing that education held the long term solution, he founded a Kartini fund from which schools could be erected, the "Kartini schools",[35] for the daughters of civil servants.

Kartini's revolt against the fate of women made others, including some governmental personnel, aware that some changes should be made. She

found an ally in the Director of Education, Public Worship and Industry (Direkteur van Onderwijs, Eredienst en Nijverheid), Mr. J. H. Abendanon, who became a personal friend of the family. Already in 1901 he was pressing Governor-General Rooseboom to pay attention to women's education, and to erect more schools for girls, thus bringing them on equal educational level with the boys.[36] That this plan did not succeeded immediately was understandable, but slowly the attitude towards women changed and the subsequent flow of girls towards the governmental schools increased steadily. On Java and Madura, in 1908 the only girls recorded as receiving education were in Indonesian first-class schools, and they amounted to only 2,943. By 1914 the number of these schools had risen to 20,259, and another 12,670 were attending village schools;[37] and by 1917 there also were about 4,900 girls attending Dutch Native Schools (with instruction in Dutch).[38]

In the first two decades of the 20th century, women started looking for professional training as teachers, midwives and nurses, stimulating Mr. Abendanon to remark sometime about the middle of this period:

> . . . the number of marriageable girls is increasing in the schools. The statistics now show an age category of fourteen to seventeen year olds, which indicates that early marriages are decreasing.[39]

In due time girls gained admittance to secondary and university education, slowly fighting off the high illiteracy rate, and becoming equals of men on the scholarly level. Socially, however, especially in marriage, they generally retained their submissive roles for another few decades, before they rallied for equal human rights.[40]

Conclusion

Colonial education in Indonesia until the outbreak of the Second World War consisted of two separate and virtually unbridgeable branches: the Indonesian and the European. Village children experienced only brief rudimentary schooling, if, indeed, they got any. The average Indonesian middle-class child was confined to the Indonesian schools and, after graduation, to lower-level jobs, from which there was almost no escape. Extremely intelligent and desirous middle-class students sometimes found that the barrier between the two systems could be breached through the connecting schools; but this required great determination, private financial resources, and perhaps a measure of luck or governmental connections.

For girls the educational system provided some special schools, especially after parents could no longer resist the pressures that were emancipating their daughters from their sheltered existence. In due time they became a common sight in the schools, and special attention was given to them as teacher training colleges and schools for domestic science were created.

The least hampered in their education were those who qualified for the label "European" or equivalent status: after elementary school, choices for further education were plentiful and the quality was excellent; high school graduates from Indonesia could easily compete with those from Holland. Nonetheless, even "Europeans" faced the many problems consequent upon the geography of Indonesia and the limitations of finance. While city-dwellers generally could find the education they desired,

those resident in outlying areas, especially on the outer islands, had to cope with isolation, tuition fees and the decision whether to use local schools of less quality or send children away to boarding schools.

The Dutch language remained an important criterion of educational opportunity, and those who could not master its difficult spelling, grammar and pronunciation properly--Europeans and Indonesians alike--would be failed at final state examinations. Further study, on whichever level, was out of the question until a passing mark was secured, which meant that the student had to repeat his final year. But the result was that any graduate from an H. B. S. or an A. M. S. who wished to pursue further studies in Holland could do so without a language barrier.

In reviewing the whole colonial educational pattern through the first four decades of the 20th century, the inescapable conclusion is that Caspar Reinwardt's basic school system had not changed much, although it was expanded in later years. It was an excellent system for Europeans and for the Indonesian aristocracy: it retained colonial values; it largely protected traditional Indonesian social structure; and it offered a thorough training to those who were judged fit for future leadership. However, the system mercilessly kept the bulk of the population from development to its full potential.

FOOTNOTES

1. Raden Adjeng Kartini, Letters of a Javanese Princess, Hildred Geertz, ed., Agnes L. Symmers, transl., W. W. Norton and Cy., New York, 1964, p. 44.

2. This interesting question was brought up by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, "Indonesia: Islam in Indonesia", Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III, B. Lewis, et al., eds., Leiden, 1971, p. 1227.

3. Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadijah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia", Indonesia, Vol. X, October 1970, p. 58.

4. William R. Roff, "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. II, P. M. Holt, et al., eds., Cambridge, 1970, p. 185.

5. Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Nusantara. A History of Indonesia, W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1959, pp. 353-354.

6. Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Beacon Press, Boston, 1972, pp. 104-105.

7. Bernhard Dahm, Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, Mary F. Somers-Heidhues, transl., Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1969, p. 10.

8. Vlekke, op. cit., p. 348.

9. D. G. E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia, MacMillan, London, 1968, p. 756.

10. An extensive account about the Japanese practices in Indonesia is written by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia; Five Essays, W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague, 1958, pp. 109-160. See further Harry J. Benda, "Indonesian Islam under Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945", Pacific Affairs, Vol. XXVIII, December 1955, pp. 350-362, passim.

11. J. S. Furnivall, Educational Process in South East Asia, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1943, p. 73.

12. Pott to Van Heutsz, October 18, 1907. As printed in Dr. S. L. van der Wal, ed., Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië, 1900-1940. Een Bronnenpublikatie, J. B. Wolters, Groningen, 1963, pp. 111-116.

13. Hazeu to Pott, June 4, 1907. Ibid., pp. 105-108.

14. Abendanon to Rooseboom, February 20, 1901. Ibid., p. 6.

15. Unfortunately no copy of the Jasper report, which would be a most informative document, is known to exist in Holland or North America. On November 1, 1974, Mr. M. G. H. A. de Graaff, head of the modern section of the Dutch State Archives in The Hague, wrote to Mr. R. B. Knottnerus, head librarian of the University of Amsterdam, that the original report was returned to Indonesia (filling a trunk!) where it may still survive. The Archives were unable to verify this. (Photostated copy of the letter in my possession.)

16. Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indië voor het Dienstjaar 1907, Bijlage B., p. 22. From: Bijlagen van het Verslag der Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1906-1907.

17. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

18. The position of the Chinese in Indonesia is described by Kwee Tek Hoay, The Origins of the Modern Chinese Movement in Indonesia, Lea A. Williams, transl. and ed., Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1969, passim.

19. Van Heutsz to Fock (Private Letter), October 26, 1905. Van der Wal, op. cit., Footnote 2, p. 53.

20. Hazeu to Idenburg, November 20, 1914, Ibid., pp. 286-288.

21. Dr. I. J. Brugmans, Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers Maatschappij, N. V., Groningen-Batavia, 1938, p. 316.

22. Ibid., pp. 306-308.

23. Undated note, probably written by the general secretary G. J. Staal. Van der Wal, op. cit., pp. 189-190.

24. A very good explanation about the General Secondary School is given by Mr. A. C. van Ahee, who saw this school as an excellent educational route for Indonesia's youth. From a taped conversation with Mr. A. C. van Ahee, Zwolle, Holland, June 19, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

25. W. H. van Helsdingen, Daar werd wat Groots Verricht, N. V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij Elsevier, Amsterdam, 1941, pp. 419-420.

26. A short description of the Taman Siswo schools is given by Vlekke, op. cit., pp. 380-381. See also Van Helsdingen, op. cit., pp. 422-423.

27. Mrs. J. B. Jahreis-Appel was hired in 1933 as a teacher on a "wild" school, run by Franciscan nuns. With great respect she remembers the immense job the nuns undertook to run the school properly despite lack of subsidy. From a taped conversation with Mrs. J. B. Jahreis-Appel, Rijswijk, Z. H., Holland, June 5, 1974. (Tape in my possession.) Mr. A. C. van Ahee was hired in 1937 as a teacher on a "wild" school, run by an Indonesian. This school was a gold mine for the owner as his students, mostly Chinese, paid high tuition fees and the teachers received low salaries.

    From a taped conversation with Mr. A. C. van Ahee, Zwolle, Holland, June 19, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

28. Van der Meulen to Fock, July 27, 1922. Van der Wal, op. cit., pp. 364-373. See also Creutzberg to the Board of Edueation, September 21, 1923. Ibid., pp. 373-374.

29. The Koran, Rev. J. M. Rodwell, transl., J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1945, p. 415.

30. Kartini, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

31. Cora Vreede-de Stuers, The Indonesian Woman. Struggles and Achievements, Mouton & Co., 's-Gravenhage, 1960, p. 54.

32. Kartini, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

33. Ibid., p. 57.

34. Ibid., p. 109.

35. Vreede-de Stuers, op. cit., p. 59.

36. Abendanon to Rooseboom, October 31, 1901. Van der Wal, op. cit., pp. 9-12.

37. J. H. Abendanon, Beschouwingen over het Onderwijs en de Toekomst der Inlandsche Meisjes in Nederlandsch-Indië in Verband met het Kartini-Fonds, N. P., N. D., p. 12.

38. Anon., "Onderwijs (Openbaar)", Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. III, D. G. Stibbe, et al., eds., 's-Gravenhage, 1919, p. 96.

39. Abendanon, op. cit., p. 12. (Translation mine.)

40. For an overview of the position of women in Indonesia, see Vreede-de Stuers, op. cit., passim.

CHAPTER V

THE HUMAN FACTOR

Formal descriptions, charts and statistics can provide only the structure of a system. Its values and goals, explicit and implicit, must be sought in the minds of those who administered it. The human impact of the functioning of that system, and its attainment or negation of those goals, can be learned best from the experiences of those who knew it, through interviews or the records they have left to posterity. Such insights greatly enhance the modern student's understanding of a system so highly contentious as colonial education.

Problems and Tensions Within the System

Colonial society was differentiated into several sectors. The Europeans held the most important political and economic positions; the Chinese dominated business enterprises; and the Indonesians formed the rest of the population. Indonesian society also was stratified internally: commoners mostly occupied in the agrarian sector, formed the majority, from which casual and forced labour was recruited. But there was a thin layer of aristocrats and religious leaders, the established elite, which lived at the expense of the rest of the population. It was the colonial administrators' task to keep these stratifications intact so as to maintain the most profitable situation for Holland. One of the most effective channels through which to achieve this goal was the colonial school system.

The first Dutch colonial schools were established for European children, and to protect the European social structure--consisting of wealthy government officials, landowners and the mixed-blood population --they were differentiated in 1833 into first and second schools. There appears to have been little opposition to allowing education of Indonesians, both nobility and commoners, and from 1818 to 1854 the European schools offered free public education to all children. It was little patronized at first, however; the commoners did not see the use for education, and the aristocrats sent their children to Koranic schools.

During the boom years of the "culture system", starting around the 1830's, many employees were required by European businesses, and it was during this time that the colonial office proposed to educate sons of the native aristocracy for positions as clerks. The possibility of securing a respectable job in the colonial administration, with its fringe benefits such as enhancement of one's social position by becoming part of the colonial elite, caught on quickly amongst the nobility, which pushed its sons to school, many a time at great financial sacrifice. Consequently, the existing schools became overcrowded as job opportunities brought Indonesians flocking to them, and a new law in 1854 provided that native schools would be established for the Indonesian youths. This marked the beginning of a dual school system: a European one for the Dutch and a native one for the Indonesians. The latter was split into the first class school for the nobility and the second class schools for the commoners.

Early champions of the protection of the native population were

the author Eduard Douwes Dekker[1] and the Rev. W. R. van Hoevell, who both spent years in Indonesia and who lashed the Dutch government in speech and writing with criticisms of its exploitative system in Indonesia. In 1848 some success was scored, as the government granted 25,000 guilders annually for the education of Javanese boys. Despite this financial grant, some people were still dissatisfied. In a speech delivered to members of de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (the Society for Public Welfare) on August 13, 1850, P. J. Veth blamed the government for not being sufficiently involved with education of the native youth. That some students could attend European schools he did not consider enough, as there they were educated according to Dutch standards, and no attention was paid to the Indonesian social background.[2]

Nonetheless, the European schools remained very attractive for these were the road to higher governmental jobs, for which western education was required. As they rapidly filled up, the colonial government became concerned about the unexpected large influx of potential Indonesian employees. New rules were made, to limit the number of Indonesians in European schools, and strict barriers were raised against their admission. In 1894 enrolment of an Indonesian child of lower class parentage in a European school was permitted only if the student was not older than seven years old, if the parents could pay the newly imposed tuition fees and if the child could speak reasonable Dutch, which virtually blocked access to the schools for most commoners. The greatest stumbling block was the required knowledge of the Dutch language, which hardly any native possessed at that time. This elimination of the greatest part of the

Indonesians from European education left the government free to deal primarily in such schools with the two major components of the colonial elite, from which administrative personnel was to be recruited: the native aristocracy, which worked as middlemen for the government in the position as regents, maintaining Dutch hegemony over the population; and the Europeans--both of which were exempted from these rules.[3]

That early educational policy was concerned only with the Europeans and those Indonesians who attended their schools must be viewed in the light of the situation in Holland itself, where in the 19th and early 20th centuries education was the prerogative of the aristocrat and the wealthy burgher. The former received education through tutors or attended classically oriented education, while the latter attended the Hogere Burger School (Higher Burgher School) a secondary school especially created for them in 1863. This school differed from the classical education of the aristocracy by not offering Latin and Greek and had a curriculum geared towards trade and commerce. As a rule, only primary education existed for the rest of the population. Coming out of this differentiated background, it is understandable that the governmental officials saw no problem and no moral crisis in the plural educational system that was used in Indonesia.

A sincere concern about disruption of Indonesian society also played a part in the maintenance of the dual school system. Fully aware that students coming from all parts of the archipelago underwent a change of identity and social outlook while completing a Dutch school education, and knowing how estranged graduates found themselves from their family

environment if they chose to return,[4] some governmental officials favoured maintaining the dual system so as not to disrupt and disorient Indonesians. In addition, there was concern for the frustration and unrest that might be generated by the production of greater numbers of educated natives than the extant socio-economic system could employ. On the other hand, those few who survived the rigorous education were fully westernized and were intended to feel at ease in European social and professional circles. In 1938 the Director of Education and Public Worship once remarked to Governor-General Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer:

> It is known that our educational system . . . rests on the thought that there should be a simple--but developing--education for the native population, with beside it a system of schools raised to the highest levels of western education, which would offer to the most capable and socially best situated of the native and Chinese population in this country a possibility to develop to the highest levels of the western sphere.[5]

While such an attitude clearly demonstrates bias--an unquestioning confidence in the superiority of all things European and a total lack of concern that for an Indonesian the price of quality education would be total alienation from his own society--it cannot reasonably be suggested that the government was callously indifferent to education of the native population.

The philosophy of maintaining this divided school system also had its roots in the diversity of Indonesian society. The creation of different schools can be considered as a deliberate attempt to keep the population in place, but it should be realized that this goal was not a Dutch innovation; the Indonesian social hierarchy was a very strict system in which everybody had a designated place. If this factor is

combined with the colonial policy it is obvious that both systems, the indigenous and the foreign one, complemented one another, and the differentiated education maintained the traditional social balance. Repudiating any charges of racism, Dr. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, historian and ex-Director of Education and Public Worship, wrote:

> Education has to fulfill a task in different parts of the country with very diverse population groups and sub-groups --while the still very divergent social activity of the generally agrarian native population, of the Eastern middle class of foreign descent (Chinese, Arabs, British-Indians, etc.), and of the Indo-European group that mostly wishes close connections with the western governing class, is also a reason that a uniform educational system would not fit with the structure of this peculiar society.[6]

This attitude was neither "progressive" nor "reformist"; it was not a foreign innovation but rather an acceptance of and reinforcement of the social system and values the Dutch found in Indonesia. Some education was provided for everyone, but that too much schooling for the masses could form a danger to both the colonial and the native social structures was recognized by many officials. An educated population, having mastered the western culture and thus considering itself as equal to Europeans, might easily query the legitimacy of foreign domination and insist on either terminating the existing situation or becoming an important part of it, thus starting the deterioration of an established colonial order. Rather astutely, a modern student of the conflicts of popular education and elitist control has written:

> . . . the problem was how to give just enough education to just enough people without making them critical of the society in which they lived or a challenge to the classes holding the traditional monopoly of formal education. In neither case could the problem be solved to the satisfaction of those who wished to preserve the exclusive character of education.[7]

However, despite being favoured educationally over the bulk of the native population, the top layers of the colonial society--consisting of Europeans and the native nobility--did not live in peaceful coexistence. Both groups were considered elite, but subtle differences marked the subservient role the aristocracy played. Problems arose when aristocrats applied for admission to European schools to which their children had been promised access. Their irritation was based on the fact that the label "Dutch" was granted to those people who had a Dutch father or grandfather, while the Indonesian aristocrats regarded them simply as mixed-blood Indonesians. These "Dutch" children, who often had a simple Indonesian maid-servant as a mother or grandmother, had favoured access to the best schools, while they, as Indonesian aristocrats, had to go through great difficulties to secure a place for their sons.[8] Aristocracy clashed here with the social classifications of the colonial system; and the nobles considered the problems they faced trying to place their children in school as a personal insult to their rank and status. Confronted with this situation, Governor-General Idenburg wrote to Holland that the government should face the fact that the high-ranking Indonesians desired and should be given good schooling.[9] Clearly Idenburg recognized that Holland's interests were served best by supporting the Indonesian elite which served the Dutch government.

Criticism: Historical and Contemporary

That the colonial educational system could not continue endlessly was already clear when early in the 20th century the nationalistic and

religious groups became active and demanded, beside political involvement, more and better education. Besides voicing the desire to have the government establish western schools adapted to Indonesian culture, these groups created some themselves. Examples were the Taman Siswo (Pupil Garden) schools, which flourished on Java and produced in later years important nationalist leaders,[10] and the schools founded by the Muhammadijah, which actually maintained the western curriculum but replaced Christianity with the Muslim doctrine. From these last schools future religious leaders graduated, who played important roles in Indonesia.[11] It was the Muhammadijah schools that became popular in the archipelago, as the Islamic faith worked as a bond that tied the diverse population of Indonesia together.

Indonesian criticism of Dutch school policies was voiced early, especially when the government explicitly announced in 1894 that knowledge of Dutch was to become one of the most important aspects of being allowed entry to a European elementary school, clearly an effort to limit further the numbers of native people in the European system. One of the incensed and disillusioned people was R. A. Kartini, who wrote:

> How can a native child of six or seven years learn Dutch? He would have had to have a Dutch governess, and then before he is able to learn the Netherlands language, the child must first know his own language, and necessarily know how to read and write.[12]

Despite the barriers raised to the commoners, the hunger for education never diminished, as it was seen as the only road to social betterment. Mr. Th. L. M. Lange remembered how he arrived in 1929 in Samarinda, on Borneo, where he had to teach the only school available, a

Dutch Native one. He described how eager the Indonesian youth was to come to school, but he was bound to the rule that no Indonesian child over seven years could be enrolled in grade one. Not wanting to disappoint the older children, he raised the admission age to ten years. The children were so eager to learn Dutch that they did not mind sharing the first grade with smaller ones. And parents tried to enroll their three and four years olds, as they thought it would never be too early to start the learning process.[13] That the Dutch administrators early became aware of this desire for education is indicated by a letter from the Director of Education, Public Worship and Industry, J. H. Abendanon, dating from 1901; he informed Governor-General Rooseboom that:

> Only a very small part of the population has the opportunity to offer children some education, and that this is really felt as a deprivation I found during my trip to eastern Java, when I was informed from all sides, European and Indonesian officials alike, of the wish of the population to have more opportunities to receive education. . . . From the above it follows, if one wishes to comply with the desire for popular education, that within a relatively short time a much bigger number of second class schools should be opened than has been feasible for financial reasons up till now.[14]

Such was the situation in the beginning of the 20th century. Despite lack of sympathy from the government, the enthusiasm and eagerness to acquire education certainly had not abated amongst the Indonesian commoners, and when early nationalistic movements insisted upon more and better schooling, the colonial machine started grinding slowly towards solutions. In a relatively short time, due to economic prosperity, full attention was given to educational progress, especially for the masses. School systems were revised, curricula improved, teachers imported from Europe and schools founded to accommodate as many students as possible.

Although the most favoured groups remained the Europeans and the aristocracy, concern began to grow for the lower ranks of the Indonesian population, and educational opportunities, though not many yet, began to increase.

With the foundation of the desa school in 1907, progress was made to bring some education to all layers of the population rather than restricting it to the already much favoured aristocracy. To implement the government's decision that the greater part of the Indonesian people should have basic education, these schools offered a three year program that was supposed to teach the youth the three R's. Subsequently, many complaints--such as inefficient education and insufficiently trained teachers--about the schools reached the government, but shortage of financial backing prevented immediate action to improve the situation. And the Director of Education and Public Worship wrote that minimal education was better than none at all and that changes for the better--such as improving the standards of the teachers--should be made first in more developed areas, before schools in less advanced parts of the country should be revised.[15]

It appears that in the first ten years of this century the colonial government's attitude towards the Indonesian population began to alter. It had never been wholly indifferent, but it had been markedly ethnocentric and paternalist. Now, however, the generally believed myths that Indonesians could not be trusted to work independently, could not be relied upon and needed constant European control and guidance in order to remain productive,[16] was attacked by the Advisor for Native Affairs,

Mr. G. A. J. Hazeu. In a letter to Governor-General Van Heutsz, he pointed out sharply that a new generation of Indonesians had grown up, insisting that jobs should be allocated to them appropriate to their education. He warned further:

> If there are only a few now, soon many [literally "tens of"] Indonesians will come forward, European educated or not--not much less educated than the majority of the European officials. This stream can be diverted temporarily by narrow minded measures, but cannot be turned off.[17]

Genuinely concerned and agitated, Hazeu predicted that if the existing policy were continued, the population would ultimately search for other means to become independent, which could endanger the entire system.[18] He also contacted the Director of Education, Public Worship and Industry, M. S. Koster, and complained about the reluctant attitude of the government to make more schools available to the Indonesians.

> Intellectualism is sufficiently present, there is no lack of desire and energy to learn and to develop oneself; people are willing to make all kinds of offers for the good cause, pay high tuition fees, send children away at an early age, to allow them to receive elsewhere a good education and European upbringing . . . if only the government supplies them with the education allotted to them and allows them to attend the existing schools.[19]

Another complaint frequently heard concerned the scarcity of schools. Reviewing this problem from the financial side, it seems that the colonial government had miscalculated costs in Indonesia when establishing so many new schools. Like most colonial powers, the Dutch insisted that local social services should be financed by local revenue. In the beginning of the 20th century, however, they realized that:

> The annual cost per child in a second class school was f.25 and, with a school population of 5 million, the cost of

> primary instruction for natives alone would come to f.125 million, out of a total revenue of less than f.200 million.[20]

In economically important centres like Batavia, Semarang and Surabaja all varieties of existing elementary and secondary schools were available, for the population of these cities was so big that many facilities were needed to accommodate the youth. Smaller towns had fewer schools, however; and in inland areas of Java and Madura and in all the outer islands, where the population was quite scattered, very few--if any --schools existed. Usually, after elementary school, children had to travel to the capital cities on Java or to Holland to continue their education;[21] sometimes the child even had to be sent away for his elementary schooling.

> Since often there were no elementary or secondary schools where . . . children could be taught in their own villages or local towns, the parents would often send them away to other villages and towns. The more advanced the schools, the further the children were from their parents. And since, up to the outbreak of the second World War, secondary and higher schools were to be found as a rule only in a few large cities on Java, many children from outside these cities, and especially from the Outer Islands, had to go to schools, which were as much as one or two weeks sailing distance from their homes.[22]

This problem was not unique to Indonesian native children, for many European families in Indonesia also faced it. Some lived far away in the jungle where schools were never heard of, and these children were either placed in boarding schools or were taught at home, usually by their mothers.[23] Descriptions of six year olds being sent away to boarding schools are many.[24] Sometimes, when proper secondary education was not available, and parents had to make the choice between the schools

in town or sending the children away, the first solution was chosen, because of financial reasons or to maintain family life. Naturally, such decisions could severely limit the child's choice of possible courses of study. Situations of this sort were not unusual in colonial Indonesia, posing many problems for parents with children of school age, whatever their ethnic or social backgrounds.[25]

Right up to the outbreak of the Second World War facilities for the Indonesian commoners continued to be insufficient. As late as 1926 only about 12,000 schools existed--10,000 village schools and 2,100 second class schools--enough to offer education to only 20% of the children having reached school age.[26] When the nationalists protested about this shortage, the Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië (the Council of the Netherlands-Indies, which was the Advisory Board of the Governor-General) explained bluntly that it was aware of this problem but that despite expansions it would not be feasible to provide education for everyone in Indonesia.[27] The Raad did not explain why this was impossible, but one reason is obvious: money. Between 1925 and 1936 the colonial government spent an average of 9.3% of the budget on education, which in 1940 caused the Director of Education and Public Worship to remark wryly to Governor-General Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer: "Relatively speaking, we really do not spend exaggerated sums of money for the education of the population."[28] The financial margin in which the Director of Education and Public Worship had to work, however, was very small because of policy made at higher levels in The Hague.

During the first twenty years of this century, the greatest part

of the budget was allocated to European education, as had been done since the dual school system was founded. This practise was attacked violently by Mr. C. Th. van Deventer, who wrote already in 1899 that for schools of "common" natives less than a million guilders was set aside, of which half a million was paid as salaries for the teaching staff. In contrast, almost two million guilders were spent on European education. (Though no figures are available for 1899, in the next year the respective numbers of students involved were 88,443 natives and 16,771 Europeans.)[29] Conceding that the desire for education among natives possibly was less than among the European youth, as was alleged, Van Deventer refused to believe that the difference should be a million guilders.[30]

The lack of enough governmental schools, particularly schools of western orientation, for a multi-million population was compensated partially by the foundation of the "wild" schools. These were private schools that offered European education without meeting governmental standards. Thus enrolment in them tended to be expensive, but since "European" schooling of whatever quality was popularly believed to be the key to economic advancement, many people met the fees somehow.

When these "wild" schools emerged in the 1920's, and many unqualified teachers purported to give western education, one of the main concerns of the government was the increased possibility of disruption of Indonesian society. Recognizing that western education posed social problems even when it was taught properly, the colonial administration was fearful of the results when it was taught by people who were not well acquainted with it and had not mastered the language completely.[31]

Another concern was the creation of political unrest by the "wild" school teachers. Many were Indonesian nationalist activists, who frequently used the classroom for political indoctrination and anti-colonial education.

To curb the expansion of the "wild" schools as much as possible and to prevent the threat to the colonial order from spreading, it was announced that Europeans teaching Europeans and natives had to apply for a teaching license, while natives teaching natives and religious teachers at the Koranic schools could merely notify the school authorities of their intentions. There was a vast difference between a license and a notification.

> To qualify for a license a teacher had to meet certain requirements pertaining to his educational background and his moral life. The government thus tried to protect students from such unqualified teachers and undesirable persons, such as political agitators. A license, therefore, could prevent undesirable results, both in educational and political sense. There were no such requirements attached to a 'notification'. Here the government was mainly concerned with the preservation of peace and order. Even so, such checking took place only if there was evidence of political agitation and the like.[32]

The differentiations probably were created not to aggravate the nationalists more than was already the case.

The rise of nationalism, bringing with it accusations of unfair dealing on the part of the government and protests against the ruling classes and the Europeans, did not make the burden of developing a reasonable colonial educational policy any easier. On top of all this, as the Indonesian identity grew stronger and reluctance arose to becoming too westernized, Indonesians started to insist that existing schools had to be adapted to their culture, to prevent students from becoming

pseudo-Europeans. Assistant-Resident Ch. O. van der Plas agreed with this and proposed in 1927 a whole revision of the school system, explaining that while Holland had provided the schools and introduced western culture, Indonesia had to adapt these to its own culture, to achieve an equilibrium.[33] This plan was immediately attacked by the Assistant Director of Education and Public Worship, who did not see it feasible to work this out. He was especially concerned for a definition of the "culture" to which the system had to adapt, and inquired whether it was intended that all schools in Indonesia were to adapt to the dominant Javanese culture, a proposal with which he could not agree,[34] as he was clearly reluctant to start an internal revolt of other population groups against enforced adoption of the Javanese culture.

What Van der Plas really had in mind was to revise the schools to the model of the Taman Siswo schools, which blended western and eastern culture and knowledge together. This controversy kept the government officials busy for a long time, weighing proposals against each other and reviewing the possibilities. Perhaps with a light touch of irony, Mr. J. Hardeman, Director of Education and Public Worship, pointed to the contradictions that had developed: the Indonesians had become furious not long before when it was proposed to start teaching Dutch only in grade three on the H. I. S. (the Dutch native school) and to use Indonesian as the language of instruction in the teachers' colleges for teachers for the H. I. S.; two years after these proposals were withdrawn, the request to mold schools to an eastern pattern was introduced by nationalists, and the government was asked to respond immediately and favourably.[35] Despite

these inconsistencies, that arose because of general unrest and dissatisfaction, Governor-General De Graeff saw this problem as ". . . one of the most important socio-political questions . . ."[36] and resolved to form a committee of members of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) and prominent Indonesian intellectuals to consider it. Their task was to research the feasibility of having schools steeped in Indonesian culture and at the same time providing training for Dutch diplomas.[37] This indicates that matters that agitated the population were not casually brushed aside, but received full attention of the governmental administration, whatever the outcome of the researches of committees and the like.

The revolutionary implications that more extensive education held for traditional colonial society also were becoming evident about this time. Schooled according to Dutch standards, steeped in western culture, and taught that people should be free, the Indonesians that received western education often became fervent nationalists and insisted that the same principles should apply everywhere; and they demanded beside freedom, comparable education for more of their people and participation in the colonial government, which was not granted to them. In 1928 Dr. Mohammed Hatta, now ex-Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia but then a student, presented a passionate speech before the Court of Justice in The Hague, and argued that the incongruent pedagogy in the European schools kept the Indonesian student off balance.

> There is not a moment's hesitation to teach Indonesian youth the history of the Netherlands' heroic struggle to break free from Spanish domination. Youth is made aware that there is no right more holy and inalienable than the right of a people

> to rule itself, and to give itself the form of government which is best suited to its temperament and aspirations. Already at the European primary school the spirit of Indonesian youth is made receptive to love and esteem for European heroes of freedom such as William Tell, Mazzini, Garibaldi, William of Orange and many more. . . . But on the other hand every opposition by the Indonesian princes and chiefs against the penetration of the whites is branded as rebellion and revolt. . . . There can be no more excellent means of cultivating the rebellious spirit in Indonesian youth. Thanks to Dutch teaching, the national heroes and martyrs rise before its eyes. Those men who became martyrs in the cause of freedom have earned a place of honour in its heart. . . . Is it now cause for amazement if the ideal of a free Fatherland already ripens in the minds of Indonesian youth while still at secondary school? If this is so, is it then strange if Indonesian academic youth is active in politics?[38]

However, the indignation of the nationalists, their political rallies and impassioned speeches, could not break the colonial system immediately. To avoid a flood of graduates seeking employment and becoming potentially dangerous for the political situation, "the colonial government kept employment, and the frustration of unemployment, more or less under control by limiting the enrollments of Dutch schools."[39]

When the depression of the 1930's crippled budgets all over the world, many drastic measures had to be taken, and for this reason colonial education suffered everywhere as allocated funds fluctuated every year. There is some dispute concerning actual allocations in Indonesia, and the retrenchments can be interpreted in various ways, but on the whole the Dutch colonial government appears to have made serious and effective efforts to maintain educational services.

Lloyd W. Mauldin in his unpublished thesis "The Colonial Influences of Indonesian Education", is very critical of the government's efforts, citing figures from a tract by expatriate nationalists, Why the Indonesians

Revolt. On this basis Mauldin states:

> Under de Jonje's [sic.] administration little was done to extend public western education for the nationals. Instead, the budget for education declined steadily between 1929 and 1939. In 1929 it was 9 per cent of the total national budget, but by 1937 it was only 5 per cent.[40]

In addition to the unofficial nature of this source, when official budget records are rather easily accessible, it also should be noted that in his zeal to prove the inhumanity of the colonial government Mauldin completely forgot to mention that these were depression years around the world. A source probably more reliable, the then Director of Education and Public Worship, P. J. A. Idenburg (who not only was in a position to know but also could be assumed unlikely to exaggerate the amount of money given to his department), cited very different figures. He asserted that whereas in 1925 only 7% of the budget was used for education, the figures were 8.4% in 1931, 12.8% in 1934 and 9.3% in 1936.[41] This claim seems to be supported by an objective (British) analyst: J. S. Furnivall, who noticed that the allocations of money changed over the years, and concluded that at the end of the 1920's the greater part of the educational budget was set aside for native schooling.

> The most striking change, however, is in respect of the expenditure of education. By 1929 the net cost of education under all budget heads had risen to f.46 million representing 9.2 per cent of the total net ordinary expenditure. The figures are still more remarkable on further analysis, when it appears that in 1895 two-thirds of the small allotment to 'Instruction' went to the Europeans, leaving a bare f.1 million for the instruction of Natives; whereas in 1928, out of a total of f.52 million contributed to education from central and local funds, by far the greater part went to native education.[42]

On a different level of criticism, the common allegation that it would be too expensive to open more schools was damned by Idenburg,

Director of Education and Public Worship in 1940. He blamed the expensiveness on the fact that too many highly paid and over-qualified teachers were imported, which brought the financial burden of education far above what was reasonable for the standard of living of the population in general.[43] To fight the problem of illiteracy, he proposed in March 1940 to open 100 village schools annually, so as to offer in the next decade some sort of education to about 70% of the six-year old native children.[44]

Concern about more and better education was not only voiced by nationalists, but even government officials realized this need and drew the attention of colleagues and the Governor-General to it. Unfortunately, Holland's colonial policy was conducted in a vacuum, and the government took little notice of what was happening in the rest of southeast Asia--where in territories ruled by England, France and the United States schools were being introduced on a broad scale. In contrast to those who thought education a dangerous influence, in 1940 when it was clear that Indonesia would not tolerate foreign rule much longer, the Director of Education and Public Worship criticized the educational policy of the past decades for not offering enough education to the masses. The Dutch had feared that mass education would be harmful for their system, but the Director pointed out that this did not seem to have been the case in the Philippines and Thailand, where the literate population did not form a threat to the respective foreign and native governments.[45] Sensing the explosive atmosphere in Asia, and especially realizing the unrest and criticism of Dutch rule in Indonesia, he wrote to Governor-General Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer:

> Where our defensive power is small, there especially must we seek support through a purposeful, honest and indisputable endeavour to ensure for this country and its population an honourable place in this part of the world. We cannot afford the luxury of conducting a colonial policy in which our own judgement is the only standard.
>
> Now I think that education, especially, is one of those areas where the intrinsic objective of our colonial policy appears most clearly visible. Our educational budget is, for the outsider, in many respects the yardstick of our general policy, and in this aspect we are not at present in a strong position. We are shamefully behind in the struggle against illiteracy in comparison with other countries around us; and in provision of facilities for secondary education, we definitely do not take first place. Now it can be maintained rightfully that on grounds of thoroughness our education in many respects can survive any critical evaluation; but this is exactly one of those factors which is considered less by the outside world than the volume of the educational system.[46]

That this quantitative criticism was justified, in a world tending ever more to quantitative rather than qualitative measures, is also demonstrable. When Indonesia became independent, only a small fraction of the population was literate. The census of 1930, the last one held before the colonial era ended, produced a population count for Indonesia of 60,728,000 people, of which 59,142,000 were Indonesians.[47] Of the native population, including preschool children, only 6.44% could read and write; however, another calculation for the same year, based upon the total population without regard to ethnic factors, but excluding children below the age of ten, claims literacy for 30.38% of the people.[48] These figures may not be wholly reliable, and in any case there are too many variables to permit them to be compared very meaningfully, but it seems clear that literacy was far lower amongst Indonesians than amongst any other ethnic group in Indonesia.

Early in 1942 the Japanese occupied Indonesia, substituting an

Asian colonial power for a European one, and for all practical purposes Holland's role in Indonesia came to an end, despite postwar efforts to reestablish the colonial system. After the war and the achievement of independence, a literacy campaign became one of the main endeavours of the Sukarno regime, and while literacy estimates fluctuate between 45% and 80%, there is no doubt that a tremendous increase has taken place,[49] which appears to justify the claim of the critics that far more was possible, at least quantitatively.

The School Personnel: Students and Teachers

The human dimension of the colonial educational system in Dutch Indonesia cannot be appreciated fully without the recollections of people who knew the system as students, teachers or both. The people whose experiences will be considered here all belonged to the mixed-blood Indo-European group, legally classified as Europeans and thus entitled to admission to the European school system.* The concentration on this element of colonial society is imposed by the availability of material, but it is not so severe a limitation as might be supposed. These people were the major components of the colonial elite, educated in European schools but with deep roots in Indonesia. They came from various social levels, but collectively they provided the bulk of the student population of the best schools and most of the teachers for all except the desa schools. Thus, they came up through the system, and they taught in all

---

*See Introduction, p. 2.

kinds of schools in many different parts of the archipelago. Some of them are still in their profession, while others left it long ago, earning their living in other ways. All of them were aware of the pluralistic society they lived in, and of the rules and regulations that limited admission to a European elementary school, though because of their status they had no personal difficulties.

Personal memories offer interesting contradictions of common generalizations, and some of these deserve consideration. In the colonial world, discrimination was accepted as a normal situation, and very little thought was given to the factors that divided the Europeans and non-Europeans. However, the idea that discrimination was enforced rigidly by having different schools for the several population groups is challenged generally by those who knew the actual working of the system. Mr. Liem Tjong Tiat states in his unpublished thesis "Ethnicity and Modernization in Indonesian Education: a Comparative Study of Pre-Independence and Post-Independence Periods":

> This main difference [between the vernacular and the European system] refers to the difference in ethnic background of the students for whom these two systems were intended. . . . Before independence ethnicity influenced such recruitment. While Europeans could enroll in Dutch schools virtually indiscriminatingly, only elites among the Natives and Foreign Orientals were able to do so. This ethnically biased recruitment was reinforced by the tendency towards exclusiveness among the Europeans the the Foreign Orientals, in particular the Chinese. Among the Natives, this privilege went to the children of the bureaucratic elite, the officials.[50]

There could be some question whether the point made is ethnicity or elitism, whatever the author's intention, and Mrs. J. M. M. Vogelzang-Appel reinforces these implications, recalling:

> Because there were many Indonesian schools, schools especially for Indonesian children created by the Dutch government--the so-called Dutch Native schools . . . and the Dutch Chinese schools, I did not think that there was a difference. I never thought of it, because schools were available. . . . and only brilliant pupils who felt at home in the Dutch part of society went to the European schools.[51]

Thus, though the numbers may have been small, there was a mix of races. Mr. L. S. W. Vogelzang supports this view with a cautious recollection from his elementary school time between 1917 and 1924: "What I can remember of it now is that there were many Dutch [full blood and Indo-European] children and very few Chinese and Indonesian children."[52] And Mrs. J. B. Jahreis-Appel, ex-student of a private Roman Catholic school with high tuition fees, has similar memories. She recalls that already in the late 1920's in this expensive school the population was mixed, consisting of European, mixed-blood, Indonesian and Chinese girls--though she noted that the children from the two last groups all came from well-to-do families.[53]

In fact, rigid discrimination was physically impossible, for there simply were not enough schools to permit such practise. Dutch Native and Dutch Chinese schools, as well as European schools, were only available in cities and towns where the number of children was sufficient to merit the foundation of such institutes, and only the largest cities had several or all of them. The only governmental schools deep in the heartland of the islands were the <u>desa</u> schools, founded in 1907.

Besides rendering impossible any absolute separation of the various populations, the shortage of schools and the quality of those available

in outlying areas also raises other points of controversy between bitter nationalists and ex-colonials. Extreme nationalists have charged that the desa schools were calculated to keep the Indonesians educationally deprived, holding students deliberately at a three year elementary school level. Answering this accusation of Indonesian nationalists, Mr. A. C. van Ahee, who had many years of teaching experience in various levels of the school system, said:

> I suspect [that the desa schools] only existed to fight against illiteracy so that they [the pupils] could read and write. Because, look, you can never measure situations from forty years ago with the measures and knowledge of today. Yes, it is true that education was not accessible for everybody. The number [of schools] was too few.[54]

Stressing that situations and actions have to be judged in the context of their own time, this observation suggests an interesting perspective: that whatever its limits, the desa school was a start at battling illiteracy and perhaps as much as could be done immediately in conservative rural society at that time, as schools were financial extravagances for the villagers, which brought little or no returns in terms of jobs. This is a point of view that some moderate Indonesians also endorse. For example, Sorimuda Nasution, states in his unpublished thesis "The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia, 1892-1920":

> Many parents in the village preferred to keep their children from school to help them at home or in the field. There were also parents who feared that schools would make their youngsters shy away from manual work. The school could therefore not depend on the support of parents in getting children to attend classes. . . . The village school had become the greatest educational enterprise undertaken by the Dutch, providing a wider opportunity to the population in the villages to learn the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. The numbers of pupils increased continuously in the later years until it was more than 1.5 million at the time of the Japanese invasion.[55]

Both of these analyses suggest that limited opportunity was less a result of colonial policy than of lack of facilities and the conservatism of the agrarian population, the causes of which have been considered earlier.

Because the bulk of Indonesia's population was on Java, by far the greatest number of schools, and certainly the best ones, existed there. This also is a sore point with nationalists, and even with colonial Chinese, who point out the expense and the family disruption that were the price of continuing education for ambitious Indonesians. In fact, though, most children from outside Java--Dutch and Indo-European as well as native and Chinese--had to travel to this island for secondary education and certainly had to go there if they wished to continue their studies at post-secondary levels.

Comparable situations could arise even on Java itself, and children living on plantations often were placed in boarding schools. These experiences, young children separated from their families and submitted to the gruelling study and discipline of those days, left lasting impressions:

> In fact I have few unpleasant memories from the "asylum" [the nickname given to the boarding school by the children]. . . . It was intended for children of planters who lived far away from civilization . . . and who were not sufficiently well-to-do to patronize more respectable boarding schools; in those days one often bought one's respectability, which was directly proportional to the size of the bank account.[56]

And just as with the children from the outer islands, besides the financial sacrifices that were made, children also had to learn to live with the abnormal situation of not having a family life. Some of the damage was irreparable.

> We were seldom at home with our parents. The path of life of planters' children did not lead over roses. We had to leave home when we were only six years old and could only return twice a year, at Christmas for ten days and in the "big holidays" for three weeks. How we counted those days! Later, at secondary school, we got six weeks, but then it was actually too late; then we had learned to accept, then there was certainly gladness, deep joy, but the immense feeling of happiness [to return home] was gone.[57]

In situations such as these, whether on the outer islands or in rural Java, and whatever their ethnic background, families had to make a decision what would happen with the future study of a child. Not all were able or willing to accept sacrifices, financial and otherwise, necessary to pursue the best. Mr. Van Ahee recounted:

> I lived in the town of Buitenzorg [todays Bogor]. Well, that really was not a small town. It was the residency of the Governor-General, but there was neither an H. B. S. nor an A. M. S. The highest form of education offered was the M. U. L. O. I could never come further than the M. U. L. O. . . . [although] I had passed the entrance exams of the H. B. S. . . . But there was no opportunity in Buitenzorg where I lived, and we were also poor people. So I went to the M. U. L. O. . . . Thus you could say that it was a mistake of the government . . . but you could also say such was the situation.[58]

In this case it was financial restrictions that forced the narrator to a school which was below his capacity. If his parents could have raised the money, probably they would have sent him to Batavia to an H. B. S.

A similar story was told by Mr. J. C. Sirag. Reared in an orphanage in Magelang in central Java, he attended the second European elementary school, and after having finished it he could go to the M. U. L. O., ". . . which was fortunately available in Magelang, which was a very good solution for us."[59] It is clear that if this school had not been available, the orphanage could have never raised the money to

send the boys and girls to bigger towns to follow secondary education, and most of them would have learned a simple trade, wasting talents on jobs below their capacities. From these situations it is obvious that depending on one's personal situations, schooling could be a difficult problem for the European and Indonesian alike.

Another facet of the school system with controversial political overtones was the subjects offered in the schools. The curriculum of the European schools, including the Dutch Native and Dutch Chinese schools, was based on the one in Holland, with the idea of keeping the students on an equal level with their age group in Holland. This was very convenient if the child were taken to Europe and in the case of a child newly arrived from Europe; and it avoided any accusation that education in Indonesia was inferior. But a consequence was that Indonesian and Chinese students in European schools studied purely Dutch subjects. Many could cite the cities of the province of Limburg better than locating Mount Merapi on a map of Java; and for many students such subjects as geography, history, language and creative writing were so far removed from the world they lived in that they became confused, and many dropped out. If students were to enjoy full transferability to Europe the situation was unavoidable, but many teachers bemoaned the difficulties and incongruities of this practise and its disorienting effect upon the children.

Dr. H. Bongers, who taught Javanese students in a connecting class in Semarang, wrote about this problem:

> Dutch [instruction] was absolutely a shame. Those poor Javanese children had to make up stories for creative writing about the shipwreck of a fishing boat from Urk in the Zuyder Zee. Marks for Dutch: 5½, 6, 6½. [6 was passing].[60]

Only when he changed the topic to stories from the Ramayana (a well known epic in south and southeast Asia) did the marks improve, as this was subject matter to which the students could relate. Comparably, Tjalie Robinson, gifted author of authentic pre-war Indo-European characterizations and atmosphere, remarked about his school days in a European school:

> We were introduced to a completely different animal world than we knew outside. Outside we knew only game, which was hunted. . . . In school you learned that you had to be diligent as ants, industrious as bees, faithful as dogs, tidy as cats, sage as owls, and for everything one had to work hard as horses. . . . We did arithmetic in Indonesia with apples, pears and nuts, . . . and could give nature descriptions complete with linden trees, willows, birches, poplars and oaks; with blackbirds, lapwings and starlings. . . . We knew what it meant when 'the first leaves started to fall' and when the 'crocusses showed their faces. . . .'[61]

In general, the education in Indonesia had no connection whatsoever with the country in which the youth grew up, and more often than not the material offered was learned by rote. Some reading material was adapted to Indonesia, but the illustrations often showed scenes from the daily life of a European family in the tropics; for children of Indonesian and Chinese descent, the pictures still must have been views of an unknown world, as very few of them had any idea how a European family lived at home. Only the schools taught in the Indonesian language--such as the desa, continuation and second class schools--had a curriculum that

was completely adapted to the pupils; the cultural gap did not exist there, but of course, transferability and positions in the colonial government were not a major concern of these schools.

Under those circumstances, it was inevitable that Dutch became the most important subject in the schools for most students. This was the language of instruction in all advanced education. Besides,

> Politically, Dutch, being [sic: was?] the language of the colonizing power, and created the prestige of that power. Economically, better prospects for future employment were coupled with a knowledge of Dutch. Finally, socially, Dutch was the vehicle of communication among the intelligentsia of the three ethnic groups [Europeans, Indonesians and Chinese].[62]

Thus, teaching Dutch in the Dutch Native and Dutch Chinese schools was a demanding but absolutely essential job. These were classified as European schools, but Dutch had to be taught as a second language, and this asked the utmost of the teachers. Mr. Van Ahee, who taught for awhile in a Dutch Chinese school on the island of Banka, recalls:

> Looking at it purely technically, in terms of the teaching, then the Dutch Native and Dutch Chinese schools were the cream of the crop. But it was, of course, difficult, very difficult to teach pupils who came out of a foreign language milieu the Dutch language in such a way that they could work together on the M. U. L. O. with students who were taught Dutch at home.[63]

Mrs. Jahreis-Appel, who worked in a Dutch Native school in the 1930's, still remembers the special Dutch language lessons in which the children were subjected to speech exercises to learn correctly the sounds needed to pronounce the Dutch words.[64] And Mr. Sirag, placed in a school in Tulungagung, a village 150 km. southwest of Surabaja, also made special efforts to help his Chinese students to become acquainted with

the Dutch language. He made picture books about every subject he could think of, ranging from sports to wild animals, and used them in language lessons to explain or introduce words or expressions.[65] Despite all these efforts, very few of the students from the Dutch Native and Dutch Chinese schools could go to the H. B. S., although the route was legally accessible to them. Dutch was and remained the stumbling block, and because of this many Chinese and Indonesian children went to the M. U. L. O., where the standards were less severe than at the H. B. S.

Dutch was generally the criterion that decided whether one could continue with further education or not. Mrs. Jahreis-Appel recounted that anybody with a five for Dutch on the final examination of secondary school failed irrevocably and had to repeat the year, and the situation was comparable in teachers' colleges training teachers for the European school system.[66] Many have complained that this was a harsh and excessive standard, but Mrs. Vogelzang-Appel remarked about it: "I did not think it unreasonable. I thought it fitted in with the teaching responsibility."[67]

There was one notable exception to this pre-eminence of Dutch language qualifications. After the elementary school, the technical institutes were open to all nationalities, and some standards were set somewhat lower, though mathematical knowledge had to be good. Asked why technical schools were accessible to all population groups, Mr. Vogelzang, who followed this course of studies, answered: "Because it was based on specialization, for which, I think, the Dutch language was not so important."[68] Because of their mixed student population, these schools also offer some possibility to weigh the accusation of unfair treatment

of Indonesians, both socially through discrimination and academically by grading exams in favour of Europeans.[69] Mr. Vogelzang vehemently denies these charges for his school, declaring adamantly that he counted the Indonesian and Chinese boys as his friends, and that the treatment of the students by the teaching staff was absolutely equal.[70]

The "wild" schools, which came into existence because of the shortage of regular government schools, were another interesting aspect of Indonesian education. Frequently those were commercial enterprises with quite a bad name, which charged high tuition fees and gave minimal education. The result was that very few children from these schools could pass the examinations necessary to continue with secondary schooling. As mentioned before, the Dutch colonial government frowned upon this "wild" expansion of the school system and tried to do anything possible to upgrade the schools to respectable educational institutes, in which something was taught. Where they were the only schools available, however, they were treasured by the local population, and government interference was resented. With characteristic exaggeration, Lloyd W. Mauldin wrote about these schools:

> Many teachers of the so-called "wild schools" can tell some unusual stories of the hardships they endured in attempting to keep their schools open. It was not unusual for policemen to enter and close the schools. The teachers operated in almost constant fear.[71]

However cruel and "fitting" for the colonial world this might sound, no substantiation is offered for this allegation, and such stories were unknown to people well acquainted with these schools.[72] That changes to meet standards for European education had to be made on governmental

order was true, but harassment by the police force and constant fear are alleged only by Mauldin.

Very often these "wild" schools started in houses of private citizens, sometimes in a room, but many times in the open air on the verandas. Usually, only students who could pay the tuition fees were welcome, for there was little charity in this business. Very seldom was there somebody genuinely concerned about the fate of the many children in the street, although stories are known of people taking the drifting children into their houses, teaching them to read and write and preparing them for an eventual decent job in the future.[73] No subsidy whatsoever was available for these "charity" cases, as they were unable to come up to the standards set by the government; but nevertheless they remained in existence and absorbed some of the youth that had no possibility of schooling otherwise.

Amongst the "wild" schools, however, there were some that achieved high reputation and were considered to give better education than the government institutions. Prominent amongst these were the convents, with their exceptionally well organized schools and the excellent education they offered. Mrs. Jahreis-Appel, hired by such a "wild" school, remembers how the principal regularly came to inspect what her teachers were offering in the several classes and whether the material was fit for the level of intelligence of the pupils.[74] Many of these Roman Catholic private schools became subsidized in later years, for they had the resources to meet and even to exceed government standards.

Mr. Robinson, who worked for awhile on two "wild" schools in

Batavia, wrote a short story about this period, and although it was intended only as highly amusing fiction, it is quite revealing concerning the situations in these schools. Talking about the teaching staff, he wrote:

> Many licensed but unemployed teachers . . . found a job there. Also teachers whose professional careers had been derailed [by scandal or some other sort of crisis], and even academics found positions there. Also people with end A. M. S. who had a few sevens on their final report card, and dropouts from teachers' colleges. Finally, there were retired teachers, too, who for the fun of it would like to earn some extra pennies, and people who had missed their vocation.[75]

It is no wonder that the colonial government was highly upset from such a melee of teachers, especially when the owners of the schools advertised that European education was given.

The teachers of these schools had a difficult existence, were badly underpaid and disappeared immediately when the government offered a job in a public school. The turnover of the staff on these schools was therefore tremendous, which was not beneficial for the progress of the students, but many "wild" school students were a bit unusual themselves. About some of his students Mr. Robinson remembered:

> In this school I had curious students. One was . . . the son of a ruler from the northern part of the archipelago and a very respectable man, because he paid the enormous tuition fee of fl. 47,50, which meant the salary of a so-called two-third teacher (who taught till eleven o'clock). . . . Another peculiar student was helmsman on a trade ship who sometimes stayed away for a whole month. . . . There was also a married woman in my class who was the wife of an officer, who came mainly to learn to read and write, and who was full of ambition and good manners. . . .[76]

Conclusion

The dual school system in Indonesia was the target of much

criticism from the indigenous population as well as from the Dutch themselves. Government officials, Indonesian nationalists, and teaching staff approached the problems raised by this system from different points of view. The officials did their best to create more schools while maintaining the colonial equilibrium, all on a fairly small budget. The nationalists accused the government of not establishing enough schools, so as to force the population to remain in a submissive role. And the teachers tried to educate the students, regardless of factors of ethnicity and difficult teaching assignments, in such a way that they could make a decent living in the future.

Thus, the varieties of experience in the Indonesian colonial schools were almost unlimited, but throughout the system there appears to have existed a deep sense of responsibility, a great deal of human concern and a surprising sensitivity to the ambitions and frustrations of a colonized people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Eduard Douwes Dekker, (pseud. Multatuli), Max Havelaar of de Koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij, Elsevier, Amsterdam-Brussel, 1955, passim. In this work Douwes Dekker recounts the viciousness of the "culture system" and the unwillingness of the Dutch government to do something about it.

2. P. J. Veth, Over den Toestand en de Behoeften van het Onderwijs der Jeugd in Nederlandsch-Indië. Aanspraak gehouden bij de opening van de algemene vergadering der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen, den 13 den Augustus 1850, passim.

3. Dr. I. J. Brugmans, Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, N. V., Groningen-Batavia, 1938, p. 295.

4. S. Takdir Alisjahbana, Indonesia: Social and Cultural Revolution, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, pp. 30-31. See also Ailsa Zainu'ddin, A Short History of Indonesia, Cassel Australia Ltd., North Melbourne, 1968, p. 153.

5. Idenburg to Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, November 28, 1938. As printed in Dr. S. L. van der Wal, ed., Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1900-1940. Een Bronnenpublikatie, J. B. Wolters, Groningen, 1963, p. 584.

6. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië, Part 2, Vol. III, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1930, p. 216. (Translation mine.)

7. Zainu'ddin, op. cit., p. 150.

8. Idenburg to De Waal Malefijt, October 18, 1911. Van der Wal, op. cit., Footnote 1, p. 192.

9. Ibid.

10. Liem Tjong Tiat, "Ethnicity and Modernization in Indonesian Education: A Comparative Study of pre-Independence and post-Independence Periods", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, January 19, 1968, p. 202.

11. Ibid., pp. 198-199.

12. Raden Adjeng Kartini, Letters from a Javanese Princess, Hildred Geertz, ed., Agnes L. Symmers, transl., W. W. Norton and Cy., New York, 1964, p. 56.

13. Th. L. M. Lange, "Het Gebeurde in 1929 . . .", Part I, Contactblad van de Nederlandse Leerkrachten Organisatie in Indonesië: het N. I. O. G., F. J. Pronk, ed., Den Haag, June 10, 1973, pp. 5-6.

14. Abendanon to Rooseboom, February 20, 1901. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 6. (Translation mine.)

15. Hazeu to Idenburg, December 2, 1914. Ibid., p. 280. (Translation mine.)

16. Hazeu to Van Heutsz, August 10, 1908. Ibid., p. 133. (Translation mine.)

17. Ibid., p. 137. (Translation mine.)

18. Ibid., p. 141.

19. Hazeu to Koster, January 27, 1909. Ibid., p. 153. (Translation mine.)

20. J. S. Furnivall, Netherlands India. A Study of Plural Economy, University Press, Cambridge, 1944, p. 367.

21. Idenburg to De Waal Malefijt, July 17, 1913. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 245. (Translation mine.)

22. Alisjahbana, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

23. A. van den Ende, "Aan de Rand van de Rimboe", Tong Tong, J. H. Ritman, et al., eds., Den Haag, July 15, 1974, p. 15.

24. Anon., "De Wandelsoldaat", Tong Tong, Tjalie Robinson, et al., eds., Den Haag, October 15, 1972, pp. 18-19, passim.

25. From a taped conversation with Mr. A. C. van Ahee. Zwolle, Holland, June 19, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

26. Welter to Fock, January 16, 1926. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 390.

27. Advice of the Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië, September 3, 1926, No. XIX. Ibid., pp. 410-411.

28. Idenburg to Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, February 27, 1940. Ibid., p. 675. (Translation mine.)

29. J. S. Furnivall, Educational Process in South East Asia, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1943, pp. 36-37.

30. C. Th. van Deventer, "Een Eereschuld", De Gids, Vol. III, No. 63, Amsterdam 1899, p. 211.

31. Advice of the Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië, October 4, 1929, No. XXII. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 470.

32. Liem Tjong Tiat, op. cit., p. 168.

33. Note of Mr. Ch. O. van der Plas, December 7, 1927. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 442.

34. Bins to De Graeff, January 17, 1928. Ibid., pp. 444-452, passim.

35. Hardeman to De Graeff, February 23, 1928. Ibid., pp. 452-456, passim.

36. Governor-General De Graeff. Quoted in a letter to Hardeman by the first secretary of the government, February 27, 1928. Ibid., p. 457. (Translation mine.)

37. Ibid., pp. 456-459, passim.

38. Mohammad Hatta, Portrait of a Patriot, Plea before the Court of Justice in The Hague, March 9, 1928, Mouton Publishers, The Hague-Paris, 209-210.

39. Liem Tjong Tiat, op. cit., p. 314.

40. Lloyd W. Mauldin, "The Colonial Influence of Indonesian Education", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, June 1961, p. 102.

41. Idenburg to Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, February 27, 1940. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 675.

42. Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 345.

43. Idenburg to Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, February 27, 1940. Van der Wal, op. cit., p. 670.

44. Idenburg to Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, March 8, 1940. Ibid., p. 681.

45. Idenburg to Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, February 27, 1940. Ibid., p. 664.

46. Ibid., pp. 654-655. (Translation mine.)

47. Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 347.

48. Van der Wal, op. cit., Footnote 2, p. 654.

49. Jan O. M. Broek, "Indonesia, Republic Of", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXII, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago 1970, p. 174.

50. Liem Tjong Tiat, op. cit., p. 168.

51. From a taped conversation with Mrs. J. M. M. Vogelzang-Appel, Amstelveen, Holland, May 17, 1974. (Tape in my possession; translation mine.)

52. From a taped conversation with Mr. L. S. W. Vogelzang, Amstelveen, Holland, May 17, 1974. (Tape in my possession; translation mine.)

53. From a taped conversation with Mrs. J. B. Jahreis-Appel, Rijswijk, Z. H., Holland, June 5, 1974. (Tape in my possession.)

54. Van Ahee tape. (Translation mine.)

55. Sorimuda Nasution, "The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia, 1892-1920", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967, pp. 220-222.

56. Anon., op. cit., p. 18.

57. Ibid., p. 19.

58. Van Ahee tape. (Translation mine.)

59. From a taped conversation with Mr. J. C. Sirag, Nieuw Loosdrecht, Holland, May 20, 1974. (Tape in my possession. Translation mine.)

60. Dr. H. Bongers, "Vanwaar mijn Belangstelling voor het Ramayana", Tong Tong, Kerstnummer 1972, Nos. 11 and 12, Tjalie Robinson, et al., eds., p. 4. (Translation mine.)

61. Tjalie Robinson, "De School van Multatuli's", Part II, Piekierans van een Straatslijper, Vols. I and II, Moesson, Uitgeverij Tong Tong, Den Haag 1965, p. 306. (Translation mine.)

62. Liem Tjong Tiat, op. cit., p. 277.

63. Van Ahee tape. (Translation mine.)

64. Jahreis-Appel tape.

65. Sirag tape.

66. Jahreis-Appel tape.

67. Vogelzang-Appel tape. (Translation mine.)

68. Vogelzang tape. (Translation mine.)

69. George M. Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1952, p. 54.

70. Vogelzang tape.

71. Mauldin, op. cit., p. 102.

72. Mrs. J. B. Jahreis, Mr. A. C. van Ahee and Mr. T. Robinson all taught on "wild" schools but never mentioned Mauldin's alleged police raids.

73. Tjalie Robinson, "Aan Bladongan woont Pah Wongso", op. cit., pp. 89-95, passim.

74. Jahreis-Appel tape.

75. Tjalie Robinson, "Belevenissen van een wilde Griffel", op. cit., p. 395. (Translation mine.)

76. Ibid., p. 401. (Translation mine.)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The development of education in Dutch Indonesia reflected the influence of many background factors. An important impediment to educational growth was the diversity found in Indonesia--geographical, ethnic and cultural. Another limiting factor was the immensity of the archipelago, given the slow speed and small capacity of transport until relatively recently. In addition, Indonesian society had developed rigid classes, and the Dutch conquest, which progressed rapidly after 1600, further solidified this social structure. Given the technological superiority of the Europeans and their policy of economic exploitation, they easily settled themselves upon the top of this already multi-layered society, reinforcing it. To characterize the Indonesian context as unfavourable to the development of an open mass educational system, even at primary level, is an understatement. It would be difficult to conceive a combination of factors more hostile: immensity, diversity, inflexible social stratification, economic exploitation and foreign domination.

Nonetheless, in the early 19th century a school system was created, and it grew steadily until the end of the colonial period in the middle of the 20th century. The shortcomings and the failures of this system are perceived readily by even the most superficial investigators --the imposition of an alien culture, the inadequacy of facilities for so large a population, an illiteracy rate that still stood higher than 90% when colonial rule ended. Hence, the school system has been the

target of much criticism, and nationalists have accused the Dutch colonial government of purposely depriving Indonesians of education. There is another side to the story, however.

An assessment of colonial education should be undertaken in the framework of the social and political system in which it functioned. Politicians can be blamed for perpetuating a system, but little choice was left to them if they wanted to remain in the colonial service. The existing philosophy was both elitist and racist. Even in Europe it was axiomatic that the upper classes were "naturally fitted" to govern; and it was an equally unquestioned article of faith that Europeans were "naturally fitted" to govern "less developed" peoples. Thus, the Dutch were firmly convinced that Indonesia could be ruled best by them, as only they were capable of judging what was best for the population and of getting the most benefit out of the country's resources. By allowing Indonesians into the government, especially Indonesians of lower class origins, both the social system and the colonial system ultimately would be undermined, and the Dutch would lose their position.

To prevent this from happening, education had to be offered in such a way that the Dutch could remain in the executive positions. For this reason, a dual school system was established: a European one, offering education towards high school and university and a future in colonial and commercial administration; and an Indonesian one for the bulk of the native population, offering only elementary and intermediate education, confining most Indonesians to a native world of farms and small shops. Schools for both systems were established, but limited

budgets, rapid growth of population and the inaccessability of many islands prevented the establishment of enough accommodation for all or even most school age children.

The most important barrier in the development of education, besides lack of schools, was the language requirement. This was so severe, for Dutch, Indonesians and other Asians alike, that often it formed an insurmountable obstacle to further education. Dutch children had some advantage as native speakers, of course, and this was taken into account in the creation of the school system and its norms and standards. The Dutch side of the dual system definitely favoured Europeans and limited the infiltration of Indonesians, too many of whom might have upset the precarious colonial balance.

The first schools were opened in economic centres, where the greatest accumulation of people occurred, as there the need for subordinate personnel was greatest. Instead of importing clerks and typists from Holland, it proved to be cheaper to train local people for these jobs, and the choice fell initially on the sons of the aristocracy, the old middlemen in native affairs for the Dutch. As increasingly more employees were needed, in the 20th century European elementary education was expanded to a part of the masses, who till then had been confined to the Indonesian side of the dual system. Indisputably, then, the school system founded by the Dutch was designed to serve Dutch interest and to perpetuate Dutch rule.

When all this has been said, however, there are still many features of colonial education that remain unexplained, and they

constitute a different face of colonialism. Within the narrow parameters of 19th and early 20th century social theory, and impeded by the shortsightedness of senior officials in both Holland and Indonesia, colonial educational administrators managed some impressive achievements. Though undeniably ethnocentric and paternalist in attitude, those officials frequently demonstrated not only compassion but also considerable sympathy for Indonesian aspirations. The establishment of the desa schools is an example of a private initiative of a Governor-General, who saw the need of basic literacy for the masses, and, despite opposition, forged ahead with his plan. The creation of the connecting school, the link between the Indonesian language and Dutch language schools, exemplifies honest sympathy for creating more possibilities for native youth within this rigidly divided system. And the attempt of Mr. Ch. O. van der Plas, to base European education on an indigenous background, is an example of concern for the maintenance of Indonesian identity.

It must be granted to the Dutch, that the schools they founded in Indonesia, especially the European schools, however limited, offered excellent education to those who survived the rigorous examinations. Extremely well educated, knowledgeable in many subjects, fluent in at least two foreign tongues and acquainted with European culture, many of the graduates of these schools--Dutch and Indonesian alike--became internationally recognized figures. Though frequent critics of the system, such persons as former President Sukarno, ex-Vice-President Hatta, and todays Vice-President Hamengku Buwono, are tributes to its quality, whatever may be said of accessability to it.

The main problem the Dutch encountered was not the population, as they so often alleged, but their own incredible unawareness of what went on in the archipelago. Their paternalistic attitude and their unabashed confidence in Dutch supremacy, blinded them to the implications of forces that they had unleashed through the school system. That education was a continuing process with immense ramifications was overlooked; the enormous frustrations consequent upon limiting academic opportunity in a time of rapidly expanding elementary education was ignored; and the aggressive national assertions almost certain to develop in an educated populace were underestimated. When Holland lost her colony in the 1940's, she was to a large extent a victim of her own schools.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Printed Works

Bijlagen van het Verslag der Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal, 1906-1907.

Djajadiningrat, Raden Loekman. From Illiteracy to University, Educational Development in the Netherlands-Indies, Bulletin 3 of the Netherlands Indies Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Study submitted by the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Council as a document for the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Mont Tremblent, Quebec, Canada, December 1942.

Hatta, Mohammad. Portrait of a Patriot. Selected Writings, translated in part from Indonesian or Dutch, Mouton Publishers, The Hague-Paris, 1972.

Kartini, Raden Adjeng. Door Duisternis tot Licht. Gedachten over en voor het Javaansche Volk, J. H. Abendanon, ed., G. C. T. van Dorp & Co., Semarang-Soerabaja-'s-Gravenhage, 1911. (Abridged English edition, Letters of a Javanese Princess, Hildred Geertz, ed., Agnes L. Symmers, transl., W. W. Norton & Cy., New York, 1964.)

The Koran, Rev. J. M. Rodwell, transl., J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1945.

Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van. The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, 2 vols., from the old English translation of 1598, A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, eds., B. Franklin, New York, N. D.

Oei Kiauw Pik. Wat Wil, Kan en Mag Indonesië thans van Nederland verwachten?, Rede in opdracht van de Chineezenvereeniging "Chung Hwa Hui", gehouden op het 2 de congres van het Indonesisch verbond van studeerenden te 's-Gravenhage, den 31 en Januari 1919.

Soeroto, Raden Mas Noto. De Gedachten van Raden Adjeng Kartini als Richtsnoer voor de Indische Vereeniging, Rede voor de Indische Vereeniging op de vergadering van 24 December 1911 te 's-Gravenhage gehouden. Uitgave van de Indische Vereeniging.

Sukarno. Nationalism, Islam and Marxism, Essay written in 1926, Karel H. Warouw and Peter D. Weldon transl., Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1969.

Veth, P. J. Over den Toestand en de Behoeften van het Onderwijs der Jeugd in Nederlandsch-Indië, Aanspraak gehouden bij de opening van de algemeene vergadering der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen, den 13 den Augustus, 1850.

Wal, Dr. S. L. van der, ed. Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië, 1900-1940. Een Bronnenpublikatie, J. B. Wolters, Groningen, 1963.

B. Taped Interviews

Ahee, Mr. A. C. van. Zwolle, Holland, June 19, 1974.

Jahreis-Appel, Mrs. J. B. Rijswijk, Z. H., Holland, June 5, 1974.

Sirag, Mr. J. C. Nieuw Loosdrecht, Holland, May 20, 1974.

Vogelzang-Appel, Mrs. J. M. M. Amstelveen, Holland, May 17, 1974.

Vogelzang, Mr. L. S. W. Amstelveen, Holland, May 17, 1974.

SECONDARY BOOKS

Abendanon, J. H. Beschouwingen over het Onderwijs en de Toekomst der Inlandsche Meisjes in Nederlandsch-Indië in Verband met het Kartini-Fonds, N. P., N. D.

Adam, Thomas R. Modern Colonialism: Institutions and Policies, Double Day & Cy., Int., Garden City, N. Y., 1955.

Alisjahbana, S. Takdir. Indonesia: Social and Cultural Revolution, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966.

Bone, Robert C. The Dynamics of the Western New Guinea (Irian Barat) Problem, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1962.

Brugmans, Dr. I. J. Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, N. V., Groningen-Batavia, 1938.

Butwell, Richard. Indonesia, Lindley J. Stiles, consulting ed., Ginn, Boston, 1967.

Cipolla, Carlo M. Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400-1700, Collins, St. James Place, London, 1965.

Dahm, Bernhard. Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, Mary F. Somers Heidhues, transl., Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1969.

Doorn, J. A. A., and Hendrix, W. J. Ontsporing van Geweld; over het Nederlands, Indisch, Indonesisch Conflict, Universitaire Pers, Rotterdam, 1970.

Douwes Dekker, Eduard, (pseud. Multatuli). Max Havelaar of de Koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij, Elsevier, Amsterdam-Brussel, 1955.

Douwes Dekker, N. A. Tanah Air Kita, W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague-Bandung, N. D.

Fanon, Frantz. Les Damnés de la Terre, F. Maspero, Paris, 1968.

Federspiel, Howard M. Persatuan Islam; Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1970.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Myra Bergman Ramos, transl., Herder and Herder, New York, 1972.

Furnivall, J. S. Colonial Policy and Practice. A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India, University Press, Cambridge, 1948.

_____. Educational Process in South East Asia, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1943.

_____. Netherlands India. A Study in Plural Economy, University Press, Cambridge, 1944.

Geertz, Clifford. Islam Observed; Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1968.

_____. The Religion of Java, Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960.

Geertz, Hildred. Indonesian Cultures and Communities, HRAF Press, New Haven, Conn., 1963.

Gibb, H. A. R. Mohammedanism. An Historical Survey, Oxford University Press, London, 1961.

Hall, D. G. E. A History of South-East Asia, MacMillan, London, 1968.

Helsdingen, W. H. van. Daar werd wat Groots Verricht, N. V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij Elsevier, Amsterdam, 1941.

Hurgronje, Dr. Christiaan Snouck. De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indië, Hollandia Drukkerij, Baarn, 1913.

_____. De Atjèhers, 2 Vols., Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1893-1894. (English edition, The Achehnese, 2 Vols., A. W. S. O'Sullivan, transl., E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1906.)

Ivanoff, Pierre. Headhunters of Borneo, Edward Fitzgerald, transl., Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1958.

Jacobs, Hans, and Roelands, Jan. Indisch ABC; Een Documentaire over Historie en Samenleving van Nederland-Indië-Indonesië, Uitgeverij de Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam, 1970.

Kahin, George M. Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1952.

Kat Angelino, A. D. A. de. Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië, 3 Vols., M. Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1929. (Abridged English edition, Colonial Policy, 2 Vols., G. J. Renier, transl., M. Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1931.)

Kroeskamp, Hendrik. Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country. A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia, Van Gorcum & Comp. B. V., Assen, 1974.

Kwee Tek Hoay. The Origins of the Modern Chinese Movement in Indonesia, Lea A. Williams, transl. and ed., Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1969.

Lannoy, Charles de, and Vander Linden, Herman. Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Néerlande et Danemark, XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles, Henri Lamartine, Libraire-Editeur, Bruxelles, 1911.

Liem Tjong Tiat. "Ethnicity and Modernization in Indonesian Education: A Comparative Study of pre-Independence and post-Independence Periods", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, January 19, 1968.

Lijphart, Arend. The Trauma of Decolonization. The Dutch and West New Guinea, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1966.

MacDonald, Gordon A. Volcanoes, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1972.

McVey, Ruth T. The Soviet View of the Indonesian Revolution; A Study in the Russian Attitude towards Asian Nationalism, Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1957.

Mauldin, Llod W. "The Colonial Influence of Indonesian Education", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, June 1961.

Meillet, A., and Cohen, Marcel, eds. Les Langues du Monde, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1952.

Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and the Colonized, Beacon Press, Boston, 1972.

Miller, J. Innes. The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire. 29 B. C. to A. D. 641, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969.

Nasution, Sorimuda. "The Development of a Public School System in Indonesia, 1892-1920", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967.

Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. van. Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia; Five Essays, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1958.

Palmier, Leslie H. Indonesia and the Dutch, Oxford University Press, London, 1962.

Parry, J. H. The Establishment of the European Hegemony: 1415-1715, Harper and Row, New York, 1961.

Penrose, Boies. Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance: 1420-1620, Atheneum, New York, 1962.

Post, P. Het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers' Maatschappij, N. V., Groningen-Den Haag-Batavia, 1932.

Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford. The History of Java, 2 Vols., Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1965.

Robinson, Tjalie, Piekierans van een Straatslijper, 2 Vols., Moeson, Uitgeverij Tong Tong, Den Haag, 1965.

Sarumpaet, J. P., and Mackie, J. A. C. Introduction to Bahasa Indonesia, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966.

Schrieke, B. J. O., ed. The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilization in the Malay Archipelago, G. Kolff, Batavia, 1929.

Stapel, Dr. F. W. Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië, J. M. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam, 1930.

Vandenbosch, Amry, and Butwell, Richard. The Changing Face of Southeast Asia, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1966.

Van der Kroef, Justus M. Indonesian Social Evolution; Some Psychological Considerations, Wereld-Bibliotheek, Amsterdam, 1958.

_____. The Dialect of Colonial Indonesian History, C. P. J. van der Peet, Amsterdam, 1963.

Van der Veur, Paul W. Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia, Vol. I, Ohio University Centre for International Studies, South-east Asia Program, Ohio, 1969.

Veeneklaas, C. Het Rassenconflict in de Opvoeding in Indonesië, J. B. Wolters' Uitgeversmaatschappij, N. V., Groningen-Batavia, 1949.

Vlekke, Bernard H. M. Nusantara. A History of Indonesia, W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague, 1959.

Vreede-de Stuers, Cora. The Indonesian Woman. Struggles and Achievements, Mouton & Co., 's-Gravenhage, 1960.

Zainu'ddin, Ailsa. A Short History of Indonesia, Cassel Australia Ltd., North Melbourne, 1968.

ARTICLES

Anderson, S. M. "Religious Education in the Dutch East Indies", Muslim World, Vol. XV, October 1925, pp. 345-348.

Anon. "De Wandelsoldaat", Tong Tong, Tjalie Robinson, et al., eds., Den Haag, October 15, 1972, pp. 18-19.

Archer, R. L. "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra", Muslim World, Vol. XXVIII, July 1938, pp. 231-238.

Benda, Harry J. "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia", Journal of Modern History, Vol. XXX, December 1958, pp. 338-347.

_____. "Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945", Pacific Affairs, Vol. XXVIII, December 1955, pp. 350-362.

Bongers, Dr. H. "Vanwaar mijn Belangstelling voor het Ramayana", Tong Tong, Tjalie Robinson, et al., eds., Den Haag, Kerstnummer 1972, p. 4.

Boxer, C. R. "Ledger and Sword: Cornelis Speelman and the Growth of Dutch Power in Indonesia, 1666-1684", History Today, Peter Quennel and Alan Hodge, eds., March 1958, pp. 145-154.

Browne, L. E. "Muhammadiyyah Movement in Java", Muslim World, Vol. XXIV, January 1934, p. 89.

Deventer C. Th. van. "Een Eereschuld", De Gids, Vol. III, No. 63, Amsterdam, 1899, pp. 205-252.

Ende, A. van den. "Aan de Rand van de Rimboe", 2 Parts, Tong Tong, J. H. Ritman, et al., eds., Den Haag, July 15, 1974, pp. 14-15; August 1, 1974, p. 20.

Federspiel, Howard M. "The Muhammadijah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia", Indonesia, Vol. X, October 1970, pp. 57-79.

Kernkamp, W. J. A. "Government and Islam in the Netherlands East Indies", N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine, transl., Muslim World, Vol. XXXV, January 1945, pp. 6-26.

Lange, Th. L. M. "Het Gebeurde in 1929 . . .", 2 Parts, Contactblad van de Nederlandse Leerkrachten Organisatie in Indonesië: het N. I. O. G., F. J. Pronk, ed., Den Haag, June 10, 1973, pp. 5-6; December 15, 1973, pp. 8-9.

Mehden, Fred R. von der. "Marxism and Early Indonesian Islamic Nationalism", Political Science Quarterly, Vol. LXXIII, September 1958, pp. 335-351.

Meulen, D. van der. "Muslim Problems Connected with an Independent Indonesia", Muslim World, Vol. XXXVII, October 1947, pp. 292-300.

_____. "The Mecca Pilgrimage and its Importance to the Netherlands East Indies", Muslim World, Vol. XXXI, January 1941, pp. 48-60.

Schrieke, Dr. B. J. O. "The Educational System in the Netherlands Indies", Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam, Published in collaboration with the Netherlands Pacific Institute, Vol. II, 1938-1939, pp. 14-24.

REFERENCE WORKS

al-Attas, S. M. N. "Indonesia: History--A: Islamic Period", Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III, B. Lewis, et al., eds., Leiden 1971, pp. 1218-1221.

Anon. "Islam", Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. II, S. de Graaf, et al., eds., 's-Gravenhage 1918, pp. 160-173.

Anon. "Onderwijs: Algemeen, Openbaar, Bijzonder, Militair", Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. III, D. G. Stibbe, et al., eds., 's-Gravenhage 1917, pp. 90-133.

Bartholomew, John, ed. The Times Atlas of the World, Vol. I, The Times Publishing Company, Ltd., London, 1958.

Benda, Harry J. "South-East Asian Islam in the Twentieth Century", The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. II, P. M. Holt, et al., eds., Cambridge 1970, pp. 123-154.

Broek, Jan O. M. "Indonesia, Republic Of", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XII, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago 1970, pp. 171-176.

Cole, Fay-Cooper. "Malay Archipelago: -- Anthropology", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIV, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago 1970, pp. 678-679.

Emerson, Rupert. "Colonialism: Political Aspects", International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. III, David L. Sills, ed., N. P. 1968, pp. 1-6.

Fieldhouse, D. K. "Colonialism: Economic Aspects", International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. III, David L. Sills, ed., N. P. 1968, pp. 6-12.

Gosling, L. A. P. "Malay Archipelago: -- Physical Geography, Anthropology, Population", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIV, Warren E. Preece, ed., Chicago 1970, pp. 676-678, 680.

Graaf, H. J. de. "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century", The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. II, P. M. Holt, et al., eds., Cambridge 1970, pp. 123-154.

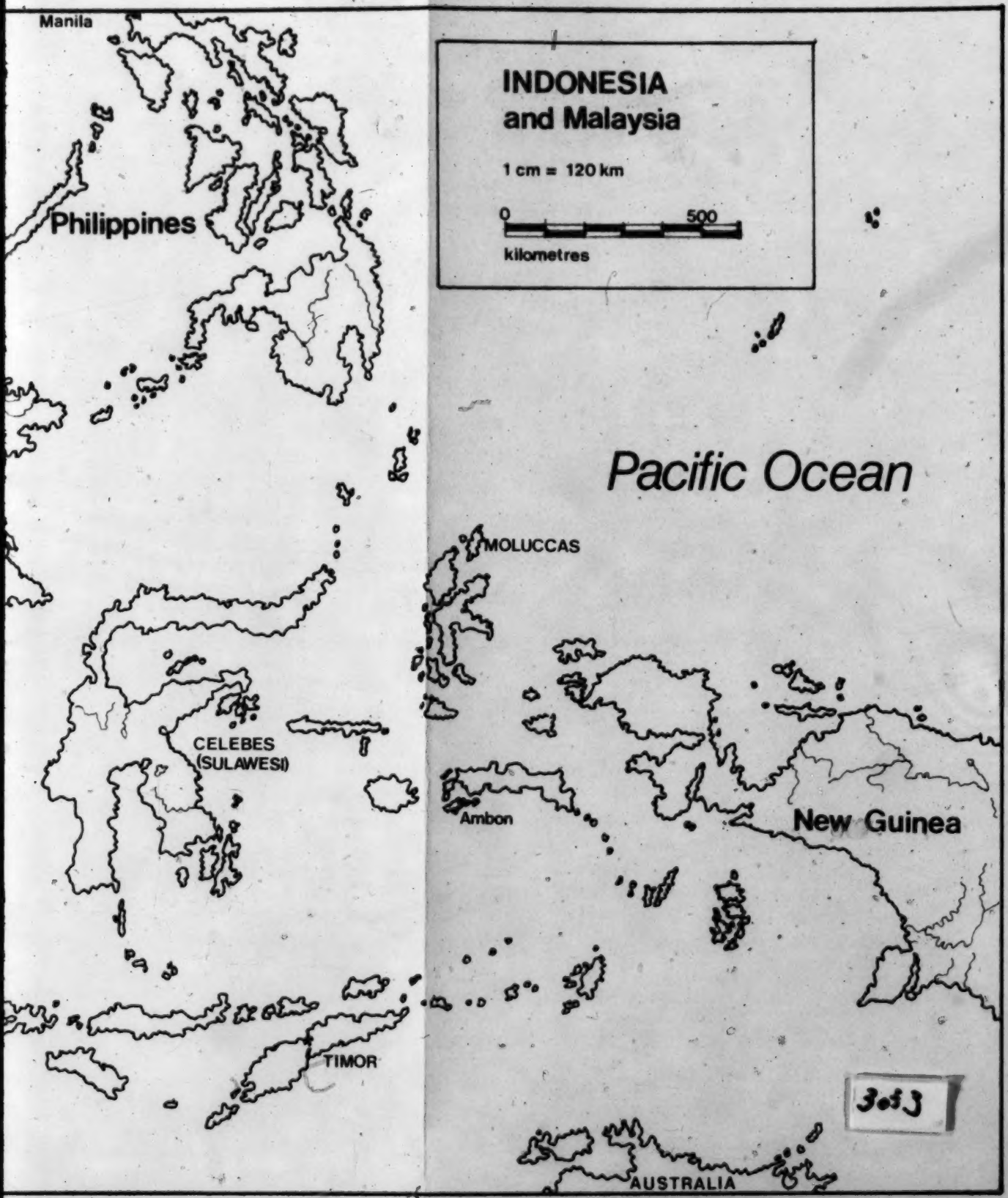
Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. van. "Indonesia: Islam in Indonesia", Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III, B. Lewis, et al., eds., Leiden 1971, pp. 1224-1230.

Roff, William R. "South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century", The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. II, Cambridge 1970, pp. 155-181.

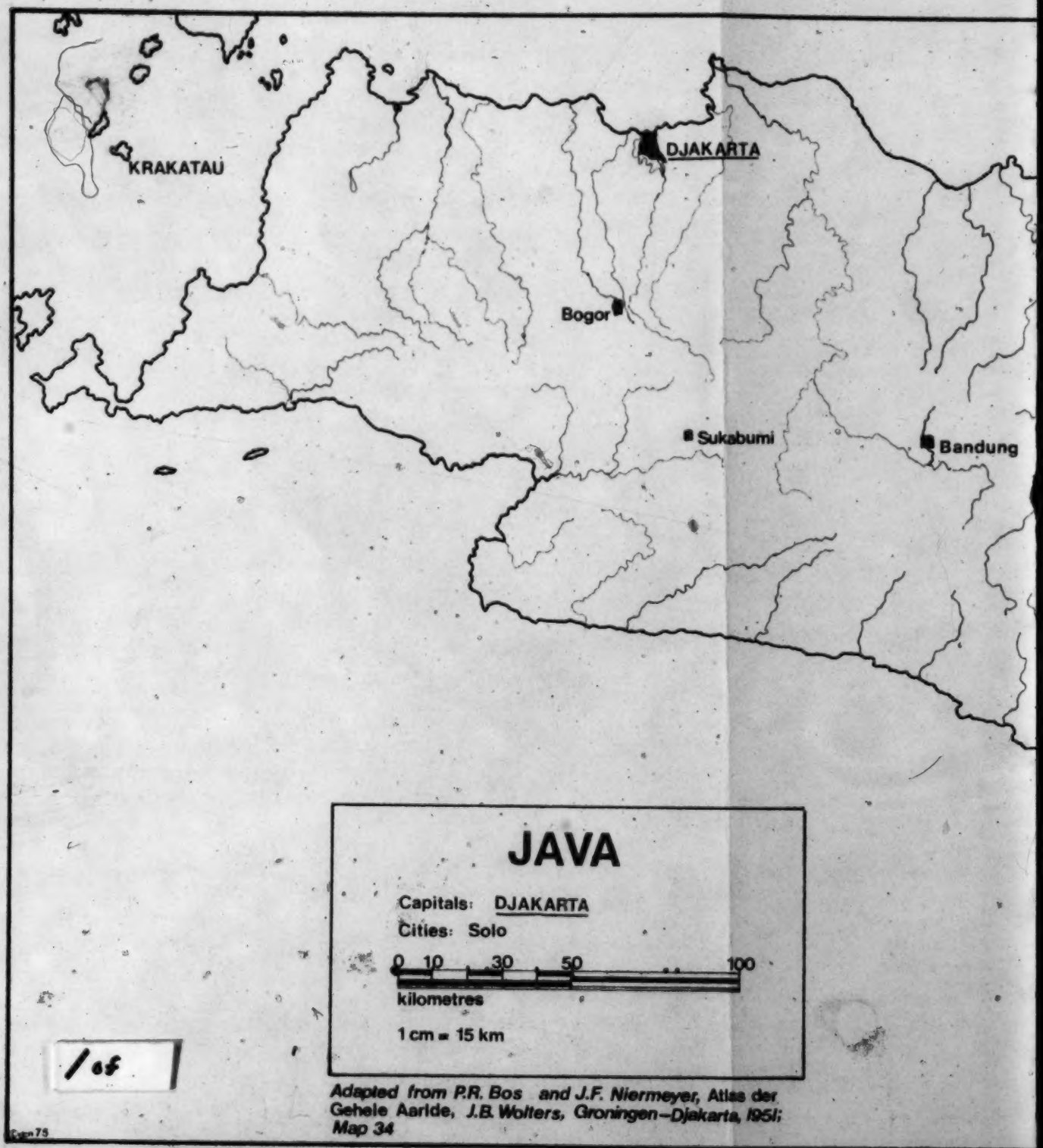
Van der Kroef, Justus M. "Indonesia", The Encyclopaedia of Education, Vol. V, Lee C. Deighton, ed., New York 1971, pp. 1-5.

Adapted from P.R. Bos and J.F. Niermeyer, Atlas der Gehele Aarde, *J.B.Wolters, Groningen–Djakarta, 1951; Map 33*

Manila
Cambodia
Phnom Penh
Viet Nam
Saigon
Philippines
SOUTH CHINA SEA
BRUNEI
Malaysia
SARAWAK
Singapore
BORNEO (KALIMANTAN)
CELEBES (SULAWESI)
Ambon
INDONESIA
Djakarta
JAVA
Surabaja
TIMOR


INDONESIA
and Malaysia
1 cm = 120 km
0
500
kilometres
Manila
Philippines
Pacific Ocean
MOLUCCAS
CELEBES
(SULAWESI)
Ambon
New Guinea
TIMOR
AUSTRALIA

303



JAVA

Capitals: DJAKARTA

Cities: Solo

0 10 30 50 100

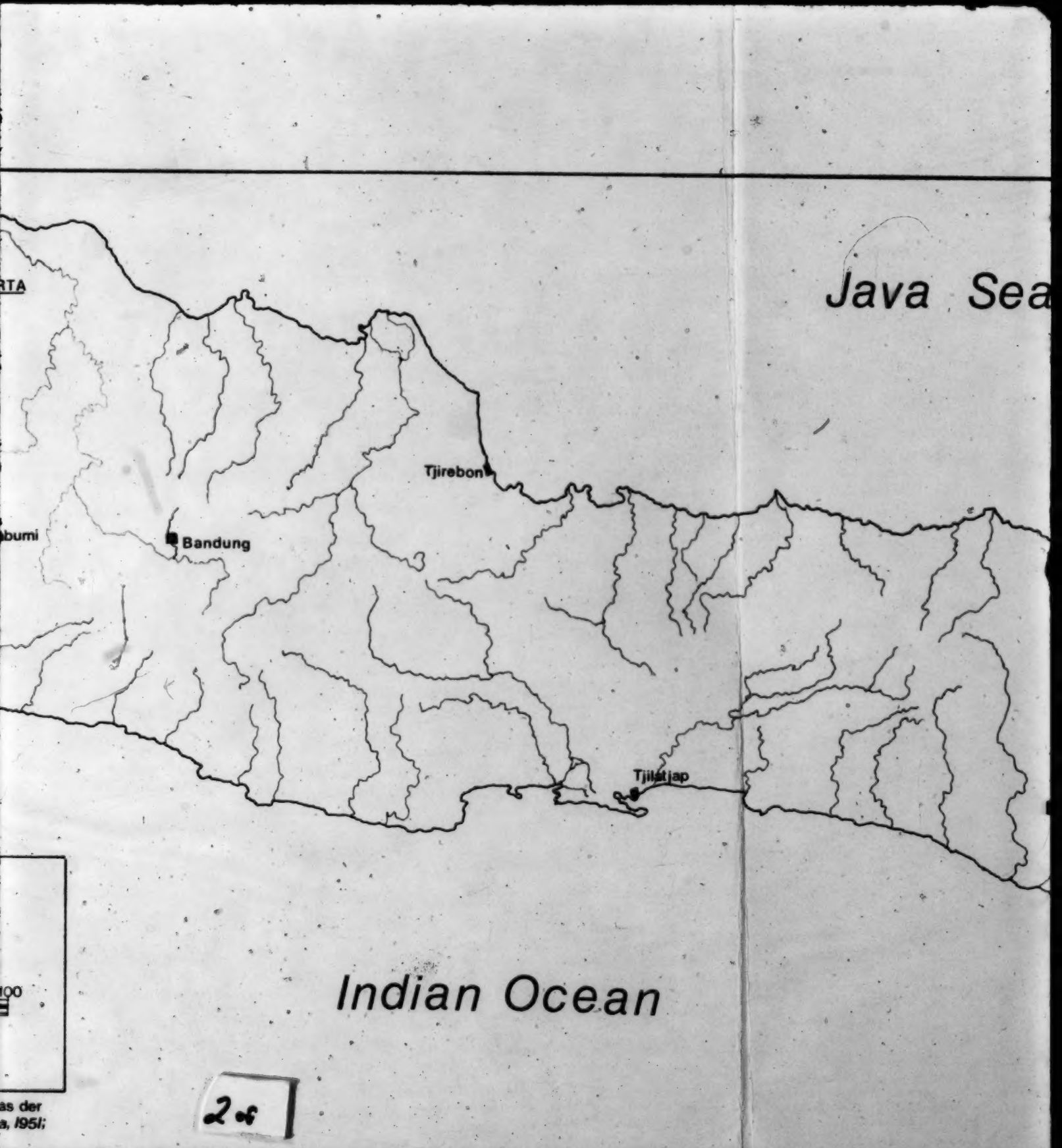
kilometres

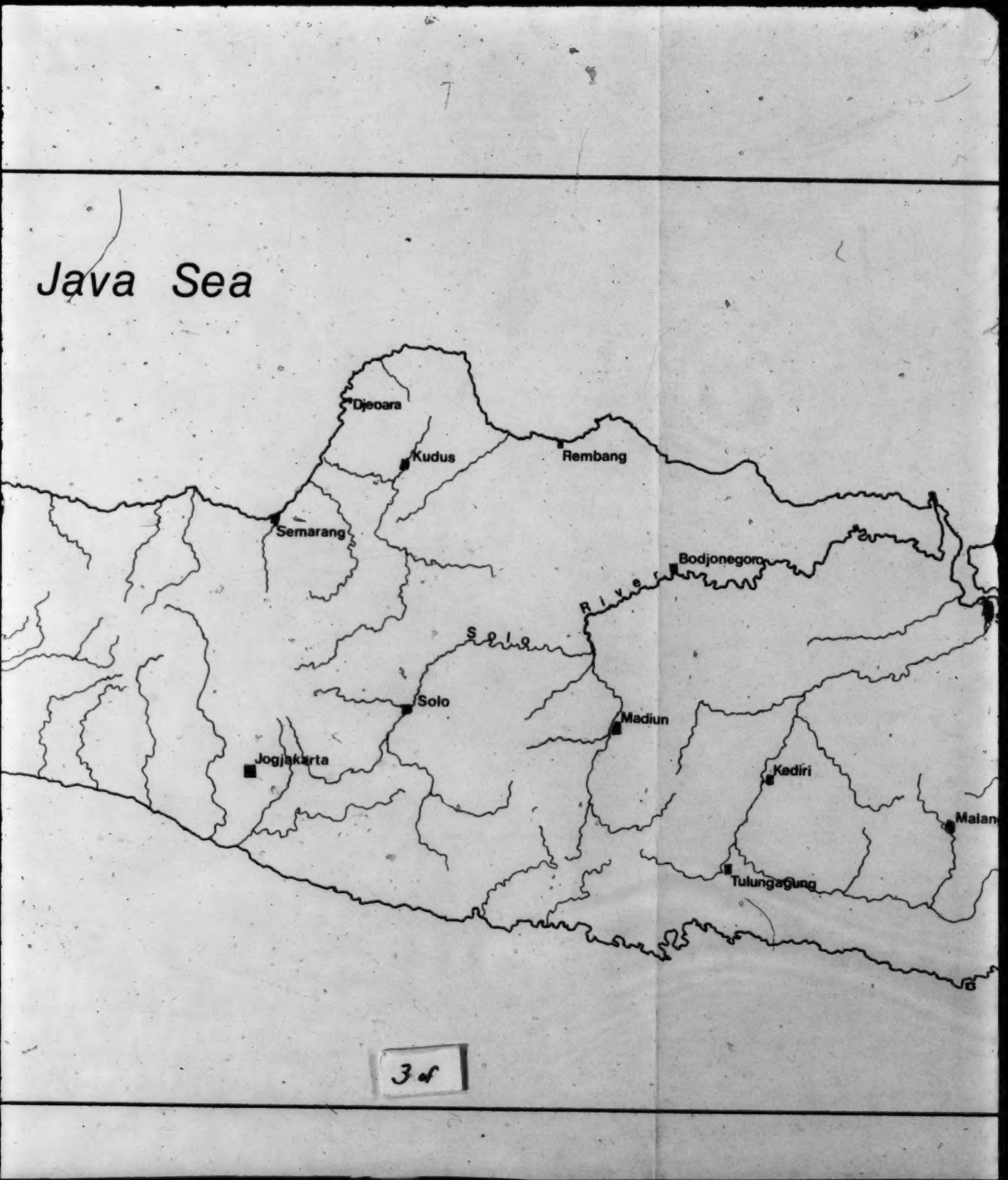
1 cm = 15 km

/65

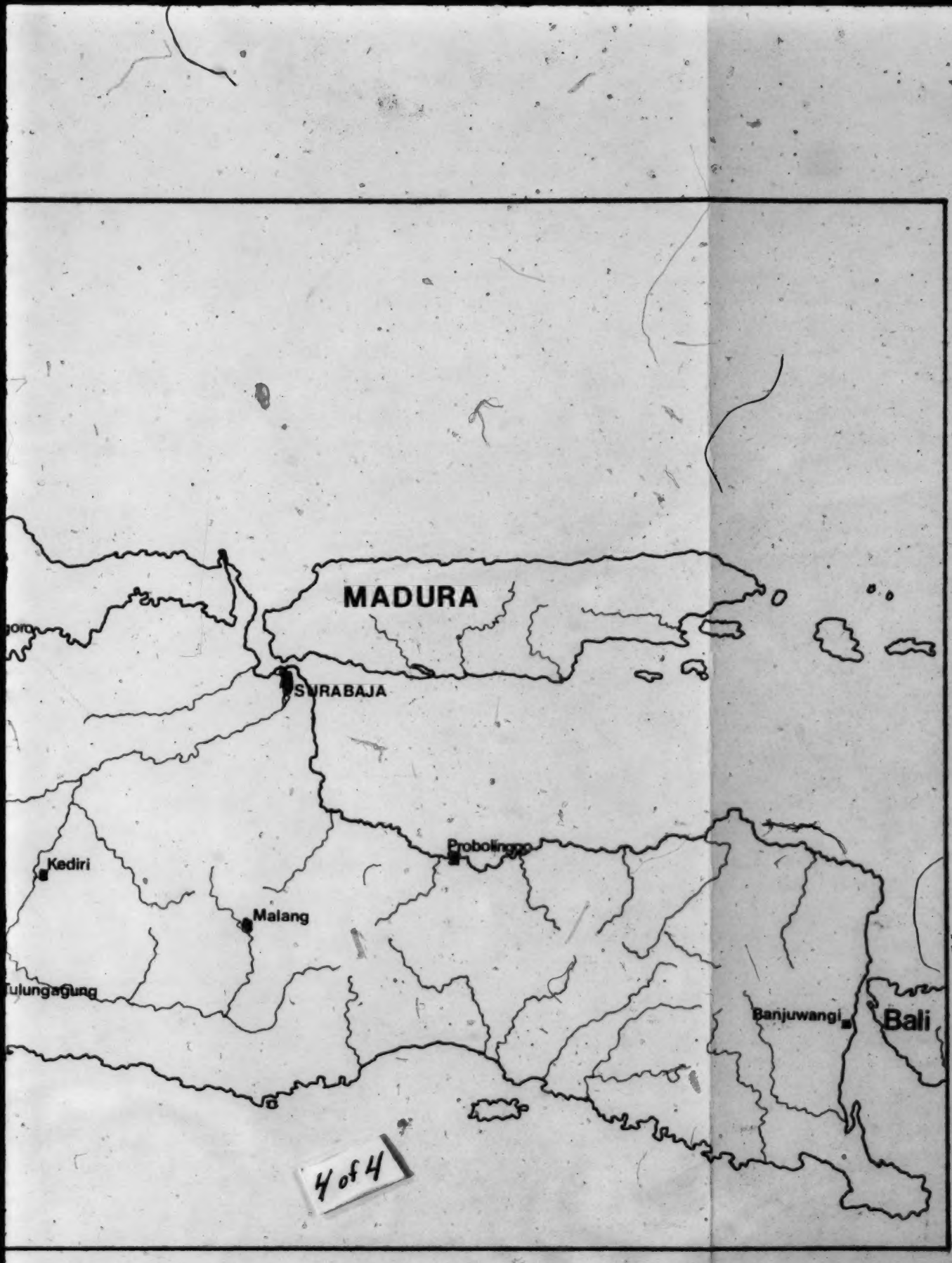
Adapted from P.R. Bos and J.F. Niermeyer, Atlas der Gehele Aarde, J.B. Wolters, Groningen–Djakarta, 1951; Map 34

Cart 75


RTA
Java Sea
Tjirebon
buni
Bandung
Tjilatjap
Indian Ocean
100
as der
a, 1951;
26


Java Sea
Djeoara
Kudus
Rembang
Semarang
Bodjonegoro
Solo River
Solo
Madiun
Jogjakarta
Kediri
Malang
Tulungagung

3 of


MADURA
SURABAJA
Kediri
Malang
Probolinggo
Banjuwangi
Bali
4 of 4